

15 May 63

Dr. Tirzo Del Junco
Box # 91
Arcadia, California

Dear Doc:

Note enclosed photostat of page 36 of the May 8, 1963 issue of "Group Research Report", prepared and mailed by the industrial union department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street N. W., Washington 6 D. C.

I believe that the Committee to Free Cuba should seriously consider filing suit for libel against Group Research, Inc., and that as part of the suit there should also be filed a bill of discovery (to asses damages), inquiring as to the identity of the officers, writers, and financial owners of the Corporation and a full disclosure of its mailing list. I believe this should be done as soon as possible; and, as a member of the Committee, I would be happy to pledge \$ 100.00 towards such legal action. The action should, of course, demand a retraction of the labeling of the Committee as "extremist, radical right-wing".

By the way: is the above address the best to use to reach you?

Cordially,

Herb Philbrick

hap/t
encl

15 May 63

Mr. Cleon Skousen
2197 Berkeley Street
Salt Lake City 9 Utah

Dear Cleon:

Note enclosed photostat of page 36 of the May 8, 1963 issue of "Group Research Report", prepared and mailed by the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street N. W., Washington 6 D. C.

I have suggested to Dr. Del Junco that the committee seriously consider filing immediate suit for libel against the "Group Research" bunch, demanding a retraction of the smear that the Committee is "extremist, radical right-wing". Seems to me it is time to knock this birds through the courts.

Another development... confidential, please ... the Columbia Lecture Bureau is coming apart at the seams, and Edna Giesen, present owner, is ready to sell out. If the left wing gets wind of it, they will scoop it up with one little gulp of their huge financial kitty. Hence, if you have any ideas as to any businessman or group of businessmen who might purchase the stock, pass the word on to Lyle Munson, 232 E. 35th Street, NY, phone MU 5-5762. One idea being considered is that the stock be bought and then given to either Bookmailer or America's Future to run as a non-profit, educational foundation. Philbrick is standing by, ready to go in as the executive head of the Bureau (commissions to the Bureau from lecture fees would absorb a goodly portion of the salary).

Keep in touch!

Regards

hap/t
encl.

15 May 63

Mr. Rudolph Scott
AMERICA'S FUTURE
542 Main Street
New Rochelle, N. Y.

Dear Rudy:

Well -- it didn't take the boys very long! Note the enclosed photostat of page 36 of the May 8, 1963 issue of "Group Research Report", prepared and mailed by the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street N.W., Washington 6 D. C.

I would strongly suggest that the Board of America's Future consider and discuss filing suit for libel against "Group Research", not with any hope of any financial gain, but with two things in mind: #1, a retraction of the smear, and #2, as part of the suit, a bill of discovery (to assess damages) demanding revaluation of the names of the officers of the Corporation, its financial backers, etc, and a complete mailing list. I believe the time has come to slug these characters through the courts, and I would be happy to offer financial support to help defray costs of legal action.

Regards

Herb Philbrick

encl.

15 May 63

Dr. Robert Morris,
Adolphus Tower
Dallas, Texas

Dear Bob:

Note enclosed photostat of page 36 of the May 8, 1963 issue of "Group Research Report", prepared and mailed by the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington D. C. I am honored to find my name on the same page with one Robert Morris!

I have written to Dr. Del Junco and Rudy Scott, suggesting that they seriously consider filing suit against this outfit, demanding two things: #1, retraction, of course; and #2, a bill of discovering (to assess damages) as to the identity of the officers of the "Group Research" corporation and full disclosure of the mailing list. I am convinced that we should utilizing the full power of the courts to kill such blatant smear campaigns.

Hope that things are developing relative to Columbia. Our man on the spot, Chuck Speroni, is waging a valiant battle to keep the place together, but between you and my poor old Edna Giesen is definitely not herself. What I fear is, that as soon as the left-wing gets wind of what's going on, they will move in and with one tiny gulp from their huge financial resources will scoop it up and that will be that. Pass on to Murphy that mum is the word and to be most cautious as to who is cued in.

Incidentally, regarding Philbrick as the executive head of the Bureau; a certain number of lecture commitments might still be filled, which would mean that a goodly part of the salary would be recooped in fees to the Bureau.

Reggrds

Herb

AMERICA'S FUTURE inc. • 542 Main Street, New Rochelle, N. Y.

NEW ROCHELLE 3-6000



A non-profit foundation supporting our free-enterprise economy and constitutional form of government • Producers of "Behind the Headlines" and other radio programs • Publishers and distributors of pro-American books, pamphlets and periodicals • Founded 1946

May 17, 1963

Mr. Herbert A. Philbrick
P. O. Box 97
North Hampton, New Hampshire

Dear Herb:

Thanks for your letter of May 15, referring to the "Group Research Report."

I have noted your suggestion regarding the advisability of filing suit for libel against this organization and will take it up immediately with some of our folks for their reaction.

Sincerely yours,

R. K. Scott

RKS:cg

R. K. SCOTT President

TRUSTEES

CARL E. BARNES
Vice President
Food Machinery &
Chemical Corporation
New York, N. Y.

FRANCIS GANO CHANCE
Chairman
A. B. Chance Company
Centralia, Mo.

JOE CRAIL
President
Coast Federal Savings &
Loan Association
Los Angeles, California

WALTER E. DITMARS
Industrialist
Arlington, Va.

WALTER HARNISCHFEGGER
Chairman
Harnischfeger Corp.
Milwaukee, Wis.

DR. V. K. HART
Charlotte Eye, Ear and
Throat Hospital
Charlotte, N. C.

HENRY HOTTINGER
Partner
Wertheim & Company
New York, N. Y.

JOEL Y. LUND
Vice President
Warner-Lambert
Pharmaceutical Co.
Morris Plains, N. J.

D. HAYES MURPHY
Chairman
Wiremold Company
Hartford, Conn.

HERBERT A. PHILBRICK
Author: I Led Three Lives
Rye Beach, N. H.

HERBERT RAMEL
Chairman
Precision Automotive
Components Co.
Manchester, Mo.

H. A. SAWYER
Chairman
Lone Star Cement Corp.
New York, N. Y.

GEORGE W. STRAKE
President
Strake Foundation
Houston, Texas

J. R. WILKINS
President
Hardwood Charcoal Co.
Steelville, Mo.

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

These pages are for insertion in your Group Research, Inc.
Directory.

Thought you'd be
interested ...

Herbert A. Philbrick
Box B
Rye Beach, New Hampshire

Hi, Herb -

One of Group Research's
newsletters (as opposed to
its editorial research
reports). Not last yr.

680 Steamboat Rd.
Greenwich, Conn.
Peter Steele

HERBERT A. PHILBRICK
Box 1091

Subject File

Group Research, Inc.

1963-1965

E.D. MAY 10 1953

GROUP RESEARCH

Vol. 2, No. 9

May 8, 1963

Right-wing politicians start early for 1964

With the next Presidential and Congressional elections still 18 months away, the conservative, ultraconservative, reactionary and right-wing political strategists are showing strong activity around Washington. Four current developments will illustrate:

1. Americans for Constitutional Action, which helps very conservative candidates, has announced a gala dinner at Washington's Statler-Hilton for May 23 to pass out honors to 153 members of Congress whose voting records rate high on the ACA voting index. (Example: Sen. Goldwater 99% -- Sen. Humphrey 1%) The dinner is billed as the kick-off for the 1964 campaign and the press release notes that "this represents the earliest pre-election activities by ACA since it was founded. . . ."

ACA has cut quite a wide swath since that time. Headed by retired Admiral Ben Moreell, who also once headed the Jones & Laughlin Steel Co., the organization boasts trustees such as former President Herbert Hoover, former Farm Bureau President Allan Kline, former American Bar Association President Loyd Wright, and former President Dwight Eisenhower's brother, Edgar.

What has not been reported, however, is that two of the top three officers and one trustee are high on the John Birch Society roster. Also, many of their financial supporters are John Birch leaders. In fact, JBS people contributed or loaned one-fifth of the money reported by ACA to the House Clerk during last year's campaign.

2. The National Association of Manufacturers is planning a nation-wide campaign to raise money to elect "business-oriented" candidates to Congress, according to reporter James Deakin in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. NAM's directors have approved \$100,000 to start the organization, to be known as the Business Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC), then contributions will be sought from individuals. (Not corporations because of the Corrupt Practices Act, it was explained.) BIPAC will ostensibly be run separately from NAM, and it is expected that the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Medical Political Action Committee will be invited to nominate board members. A spokesman for NAM told the reporter that BIPAC is partially in response to the success of organized labor's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

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3. The Goldwater-for-President bandwagon was propelled recently by the arrival in Washington of Peter O'Donnell to hold strategy huddles about financial support and staff for the Arizona Republican Senator. O'Donnell is known as a wealthy Texas businessman but is not so well known as being connected with the following groups: Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Young Americans for Freedom, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, Human Events Political Action Conference, American Enterprise Association (now Institute), and the American Security Council.

4. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce is distributing to its affiliates around the country a list of Congressmen with voting records as rated by five organizations: Americans for Constitutional Action, American Farm Bureau Federation, National Farmers Union, Americans for Democratic Action and AFL-CIO's COPE. Since the Chamber is ostensibly nonpolitical, the distribution of both liberal and conservative voting records is regarded as somewhat of a new technique for getting the word out to voters.

Right-wingers agitate Washington suburbs

The Nation's Capital is currently getting a sizeable sample of disruptive activity by right-wingers in its own yard. In suburban Fairfax County, Virginia, an attack on three films made available by the public library was repelled by a staunch library staff, with the aid of newspaper editors, the National Capital Civil Liberties Union and others. The ruckus was started by an American Legion Post and was soon joined by two evangelists, Dale Crowley, Sr. and Jr. During discussion of the films, the elder Crowley, who is editor of a far-right publication called The Capital Voice and appears on local radio, shouted at a critic: "What are you, a Communist or something?"

On the Maryland side of the Capital, in Montgomery County, the immediate issue is desegregation of public facilities, but there are several related movements arousing press interest. Something called the Crusade for Survival has held meetings to protest the TV appearance of Alger Hiss and the Supreme Court prayer decision. Americans for Constitutional Action has a chapter in the county, and citizens are guessing as to who are Birch Society leaders -- and who are not -- in the political combine which swept the last election.

Senator blasts right-wing extremists

A full-dress attack by Senator Thomas H. Kuchel (R-Calif) on the extremists in "I am a better American than you are" organizations was delivered in Congress May 2 with widespread publicity. Kuchel took as his text the 100 or more letters he receives daily which he describes as "fright mail." He quoted liberally from examples of hoaxes, such as those expressing alarm over a Communist army poised on the Mexican border and those crying that a military maneuver in Georgia means a Communist take-over of our military forces. (page 19)

John Birch Society shows increased activity

The Associated Press has looked over the Belmont, Mass., headquarters of the John Birch Society and found a "sharp contrast" with how it looked just two years ago. It reports that the group has taken adjoining space and that the staff has grown from 57 employees in 1961 to 109 on the payroll now. The AP also noted that there are about 125 stores throughout the country handling JBS publications.

And a paper in neighboring Lowell reports with tongue in cheek that the city's economy might sink if the John Birch Society folded, because a Lowell printer gets the group's large volume of business.

Anti-Communist Liaison holds strategy meeting

The group created last year by Billy James Hargis to coordinate the ultra-conservative movement -- now called Anti-Communist Liaison -- met April 26 and 27 in Washington to discuss strategy and lash out in general. In charge of the open meetings were Edward Hunter, "brainwashing" expert and Chairman of the group, and Bryton Barron, former State Department employee, former John Birch coordinator, and program chairman of the Liaison. About 100 people attended and took copious notes on the many talks.

The biggest name on the program was South Dakota Senator Karl Mundt, the Republicans' latest addition to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who urged more coordinated conservative effort and attacked the power of labor's COPE. Other speakers drew applause for urging the U. S. to get out of the U. N., and Representative H. R. Gross (R-Iowa) attacked all foreign aid over \$1.00. Other participants included Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, one of the most active right-wingers; Carol Bauman, Managing Editor of New Guard (Young Americans for Freedom); and several professional anti-communist research people.

PERSONALITIES: Gen. Edwin Walker and Dr. Billy James Hargis have announced another "Midnight Ride" to nine cities this month. . . . Robert De Pugh, head of the armed Minutemen, attacked President Kennedy's staff at a Kansas University student forum. . . . Malcolm X, the No. 2 man in the Black Muslims, is coming to Washington to take over local leadership of the extremist sect. . . . Frank B. McGehee, who started the National Indignation Convention, has written supporters that NIC has been dissolved and that he wants to start a national political action movement to elect conservatives. . . . Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, President of Brigham Young University, received this year's award of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, an extreme right-wing group. . . . One of those who picketed Attorney General Kennedy when he visited Montgomery, Alabama, last month was retired Admiral John Crommelin, an owner of the racist Common Sense publication and unsuccessful candidate for several offices on the National States Rights Party ticket. . . . Joseph Zack Kornfeder, ex-communist lecturer and writer, died this week in Washington. . . . A Washington meeting called by Rev. Kenneth Goff, racist head of Soldiers of the Cross, failed miserably.

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Wheat referendum draws right-wing attacks

For several months, wheat farmers have been barraged by opposing forces seeking their "yes" or "no" vote in the May 21 national referendum on which the Administration's wheat program will stand or fall. A two-thirds majority is required. Favoring the proposition (price support in return for acreage cuts) are groups such as the National Farmers Union, National Grange and National Association of Wheat Growers.

Heading the opposition is the American Farm Bureau Federation, largest and most conservative of the rural pressure groups. The issue has also attracted strong opposition from active right-wing voices such as Dan Smoot, Tom Anderson and Human Events -- all using the alleged issue of freedom versus bondage.

Also, local groups with interesting names have taken on the fight: Farmers for Freedom, Farmers Liberty League, and Anti-Blackmail Committee. Robert Morris, head of the Defenders of American Liberty and veteran right-winger, is representing three farmers who are trying to prevent the vote by court action.

Philbrick joins extremist groups

Herbert Philbrick, former FBI counterspy and author of "I Led Three Lives," has lectured widely to conservative and other groups without actually joining the extremists. Recently, however, his name has appeared on two of the more radical right-wing organizations.

One is the American Committee to Free Cuba, Inc., where he appears with such as John Rousselot, E. Merrill Root, W. Cleon Skousen, Walter Knott, J. B. Matthews and Kent Courtney. The other is America's Future, Inc., whose officers include several Birch leaders and whose chief function is "Operation Textbook" for removing alleged subversion from the school books.

Magazines describe right-wing in two cities

Life magazine devoted 12 pages of its April 26 issue to a picture and text description of the split caused in Paradise, California, by right-wing attacks on the schools. Mrs. Virginia Franklin, an outstanding teacher, was the chief target of attack.

Newsweek devoted more than a page of its April 15 issue to a description of the right-wing activity of retired military men living in Coronado, California.

Film available on Goldmark case

The right-wing activity which resulted in defeat last fall of John Goldmark for re-election to the Washington State Legislature is the subject of a 30-minute documentary film produced by station KING in Seattle. The 16 mm. film is entitled "Suspect" and is available from the station. Goldmark has sued his principal adversaries for defamation and will go to trial October 21.

INVADES THE GOP

are on the right. They attack the two-party liberalism of the center. Dozens of new organizations, from the fanatic John Birch Society to the wide-eyed Young Americans for Freedom, cry for Goldwater and try to impose a right-wing orthodoxy upon the Republican party.

BY T GEORGE HARRIS
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

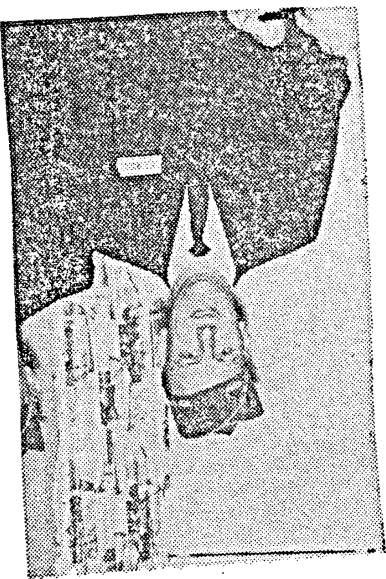
A FIERCE NEW BREED of political activist is at work across the land. In public, he calls himself "Conservative." In private, he may lightly put on another label: "Right wing." He has lately become the main topic of intense back-room talk among veteran Republican leaders in many states. He is, they know, moving in on the party machinery. His bid for authority is vigorously supported by the money, propaganda and membership of fast-growing right-wing organizations outside the party.

"It's a real raid," says a ranking member of the GOP central committee in one Rocky Mountain state. "They're grabbing for control of the party." Though a wealthy and conservative businessman, this Republican is one of many who want to speak of the problem in public. "I don't want to be attacked as a Communist."

Some GOP leaders are delighted, others worried. "I think that in three or four months you'll see the responsible leadership get in and head

continued

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[19 May 1963
N.H. Sunday News
Manchester, NH]

Between The Lines

Mr. McCune's 'Business'



By Edith Kermit Roosevelt

WASHINGTON — The name "Group Research, Inc.," sounded intriguing. I decided to look into it. I have been a reporter for more than a decade but this gave me a new experience.

Wesley McCune, head of the three-room office, was out. While awaiting his return, I noticed a wall chart. When I began taking notes, the staff of three girls leaped up suspiciously and a young man came from an outer office. The scene ended with me being ordered to leave.

Next day, I tried again, and met McCune. He gave me a velvety welcome which turned to harsh negatives when I began to ask questions.

GROUP RESEARCH, Inc., has been quietly operating for more than a year. Only last month, a syndicated newspaper dispatch said the organization was investigating where and how "right-wing" groups got their financial backing. An informant told me it specialized in accumulating dossiers on anti-Communists and so-called "rightists." When anti-Communists do this, it is called a blacklist.

MY DECISION to do some researching into Group Research, Inc., was hastened when I was told its headquarters at Room 422, 1404 New York Ave., N. W., was crammed with filing cabinets — one of which contained a card about Edith Kermit Roosevelt.

I wondered why the dossier on me included such details as

mingled with hate. Of what? What was there to hide?

ONE OF THE QUESTIONS

I naturally asked McCune was: "For whom are you compiling these names and data?" I pointed to the 100 filing cabinets and drawers lining the offices. "That's my business," he said.

"Who are the people behind your group?"

"That's my business," he said.

This secretiveness and the smear labels on the chart raised many questions. I thought of the curiously synchronized campaign alleging the wealth of anti-Communist groups, broadly implying that anti-Red leaders were raking in huge profits. These smears are false but they dried up many contributions, forcing serious cutbacks in the work of these anti-Communist groups.

A FINAL QUESTION: "Who pays for Group Research?" I

turned President Johnson to the White House, along with his very liberal running mate, Hubert Humphrey, was a stunning defeat to "extremism," as a major issue and for Barry Goldwater personally.

Right Wing

Right Wing

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INVADES THE GOP

In the political buildup to '64, the radicals are on the right. They attack the two-party liberalism of the center. Dozens of new organizations, from the fanatic John Birch Society to the wide-eyed Young Americans for Freedom, cry for Goldwater and try to impose a right-wing orthodoxy upon the Republican party.

BY T GEORGE HARRIS
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

A FIERCE NEW BREED of political activist is at work across the land. In public, he calls himself "Conservative." In private, he may lightly put on another label: "Right wing." He has lately become the main topic of intense back-room talk among veteran Republican leaders in many states. He is, they know, moving in on the party machinery. His bid for authority is vigorously supported by the money, propaganda and membership of fast-growing right-wing organizations outside the party.

"It's a real raid," says a ranking member of the GOP central committee in one Rocky Mountain state. "They're grabbing for control of the party." Though a wealthy and conservative businessman, this Republican is one of many who fear to speak of the problem in public. "I don't want to be attacked as a Communist."

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continued

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asked McCune. He said: "That's my business." I think it is my business — and that of the public!" (Copyright 1963 Edith Kermit Roosevelt Syndicate)

that I had discussed the issue of shipping foreign aid to India. Why should this go into a record in an office listing itself as "non-profit" and "educational?"

I WAS IN EMINENT company. Also listed are writers, educators and scholars of world renown. Dr. Wilhelm Roepke, who helped guide West Germany's miraculous postwar economic recovery, is one. Why? Also anyone who was a sponsor of groups like Young Americans for Freedom, or is listed on the masthead of publications such as Modern Age. This academic-type quarterly features contributions by such "extremists" as Philip E. Mosely, director of studies, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, Msgr. J. M. Lally, editor of Gerson, professor of political science at the University of Connecticut.

WHO COMPILES this "educational" information? McCune was assistant to Charles F. Brannan when he was secretary of agriculture, and later was public information officer of the National Farmers Union. Group Research's certificate of incorporation is signed by two Washington attorneys: Daniel M. Singer of 5410 39th St., N. W., and James H. Heller of 3916 Ingomar St., N. W. Heller is secretary of the Washington chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union which vigorously opposes dossiers on plinks and pro-Reds.

THE CHART in this office listed a dozen organizations opposed to Communism, such as the Farm Bureau Federation, the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, American Security Council, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, American Enterprise Association, Young Americans for Freedom, Committee Against Summit Entanglement, Harding College, and the Foundation for Economic Freedom.

Above these names were colored balloons bearing the labels, "racism," "book-burners," "bogy of inflation — the balanced budget," "pro-military," "anti-Cuban extremists," "anti-UNICEF," "anti-semitic," "anti-medicare," "states rights primitives," "censorship," and "anti-federal aid to education."

AS I COPIED this, the young man came forward. He bluntly asked me to leave. "We don't want publicity," he explained. The receptionist, a blonde with an up-sweep hairdo, declared, "This is a private organization. You aren't supposed to take inventory. We told you to leave." I saw fear in her eyes,

Pembroke Drive
For Scholarship
Fund Over Top

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(Copyright 1963
Edith Kermit Roosevelt Syndicate)

and Lawrence E. Epsom, George P. Colman, Ger-

award committee; Allenstown,

to serve on the selection and

pointed the following citizens:

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Mrs. Theodore Natti, presi-

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on the basis of need and merit

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Hooksett, Epsom, Allenstown,

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Scholarship Foundation, N.

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Academy went over the top

towns served by Pemb

PEMBROKE, May 18—Ar

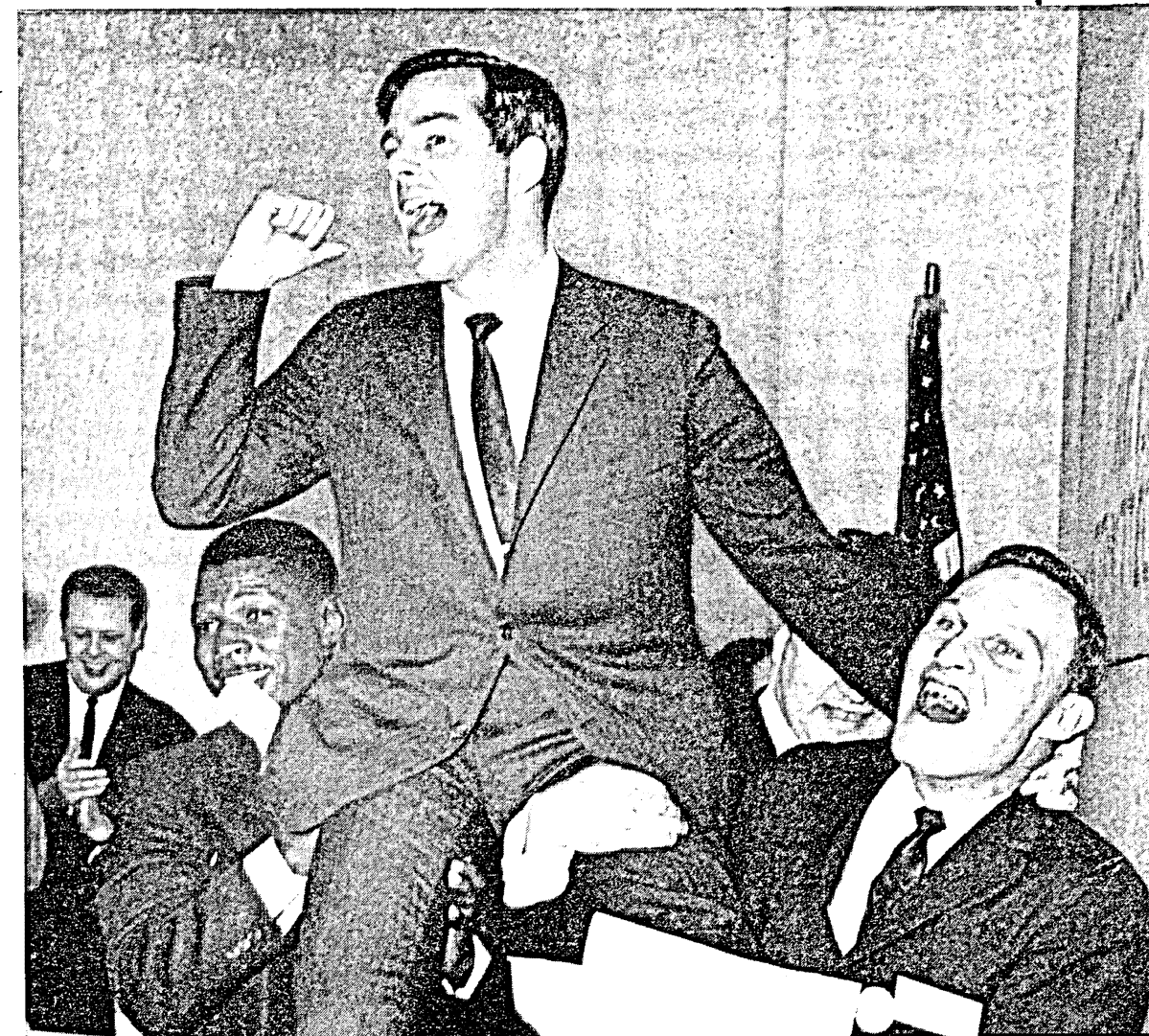
pinkos and pro-Reds.

Fund Over Top

For Scholarship

Pembroke Drive

File -
George Remond



Backed by John Birch Society pros, Robert Gaston this year took over California's Young Republican Federation.

THE RAMPANT RIGHT INVADES THE GOP

In the political buildup to '64, the radicals are on the right. They attack the two-party liberalism of the center. Dozens of new organizations, from the fanatic John Birch Society to the wide-eyed Young Americans for Freedom, cry for Goldwater and try to impose a right-wing orthodoxy upon the Republican party.

A FIERCE NEW BREED of political activist is at work across the land. In public, he calls himself "Conservative." In private, he may lightly put on another label: "Right wing." He has lately become the main topic of intense back-room talk among veteran Republican leaders in many states. He is, they know, moving in on the party machinery. His bid for authority is vigorously supported by the money, propaganda and membership of fast-growing right-wing organizations outside the party.

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continued

BY T GEORGE HARRIS
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

THE RAMPANT RIGHT continued

them off," says Seattle's R. Mort Frayn, 57, the most experienced leader in the Washington state GOP and Richard Nixon's Northwest anchor man in 1960. "This crowd can blow the whole bundle if we're not careful. If we can keep a balance, the party will come out stronger."

The new right shows its greatest strength in the West and South. But in other sections where traditional GOP leadership shows weakness or division, it is moving in to fill the vacuum. The "moderates," as Eisenhower Republicans are now tagged, have to fight or join up, or both. In Illinois, business executive Charles H. Percy, an Eisenhower favorite for years, has been running for governor. If he can get the GOP nomination, he has an odds-on chance to beat a faltering Democratic incumbent, Gov. Otto Kerner. But Percy is under bitter personal attack inside his party and has to wage his campaign on a single, defensive theme. "Chuck keeps trying to prove he's a conservative," says one angry critic. "We aren't buying it."

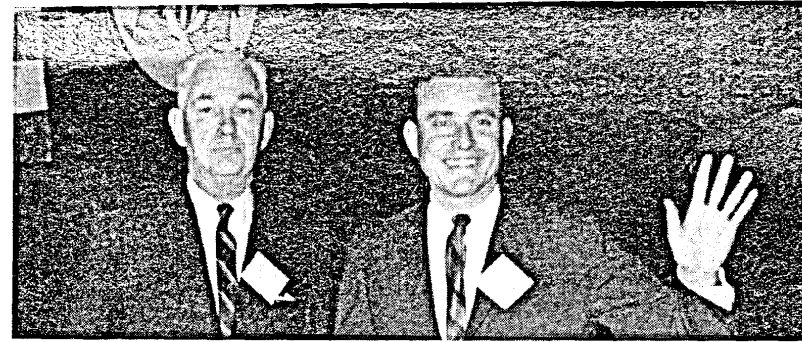
Politicians in the Rocky Mountain states report a strong upsurge in rightist activity, often boosted by piped-in national radio and TV orators. In this thinly populated region, where four Democratic senators face rough reelection fights in '64, a few right-wing programs can saturate the electorate. But some GOP leaders do not want this outside help. The propaganda makes it difficult for them to consider nominating nonradicals and hands the Democrats a dandy issue—invasion by monied "foreign interests."

California, with its habit of hyperbole, offers the vanguard example of the radical right at work. Here, the John Birch Society, which trains the far right's toughest militants, is now gaining fast in members and in influence upon a badly splintered GOP. In the past year, the JBS has become, to the astonishment of most politicians, the new force to be reckoned with. Its power centers lie in the ever-spreading suburbs around Los Angeles. Any candidate for GOP nomination to an important office must make peace on Birch terms or take on a battle. Each GOP congressman knows that if he doesn't show skill in "the care and feeding of the right," as one veteran calls it, he will face "pro-Communist" charges until the next primary—when he will have to run against a massively financed opponent.

It's easier to feed the fires of fear. Rep. James Utt (R., Calif.), though not a Birch member, mailed out a newsletter on the U. S. Army's "Exercise Water Moccasin." This Georgia maneuver, he declared, might be "probing the resistance of the American people to an internal take-over, fantastic as that may seem, although the present tendency is to deliver this country into the tender hands of the UN peace-keeping army." By the time right-wing enthusiasts got through expanding the Water Moccasin story, there were 16,000 African troops in Georgia, "with rings in their ears and noses," trained to take over the U. S. under command of a Russian general at the United Nations.

The most effective new operator in Birch politics is former Republican Congressman John Rousselot of California. Now 35, he long ago proved his oratorical and organizational skills, and knows the California party from years of work in Richard Nixon's statewide organization. In 1956, he was Nixon-picked for state chief of the Young Republican Federation. He dearly wanted to run for Congress in 1958. Nixon's decision to run another candidate, who lost, turned Rousselot into a bitter critic of the middle-roading organization. In 1960, he overrode Nixon's men, got enough financial backing from somewhere to win both the primary and the general election. He had already been in Congress several months when the press uncovered his membership—and that of his fellow GOP Congressman Edgar (Eck) Hiestand—in the John Birch Society.

Most politicians thought Rousselot's career was ended. The



Robert Welch, 63, and his aide, former Congressman John Rousselot, 35, who takes the John Birch message to GOP women's clubs, other party branches.

Democratic legislators in Sacramento, then redistricting the state, smelled opportunity. They gerrymandered his 25th Congressional District, boxed him into a new one that was 62 percent Democratic. Also, as Birch Society founder Robert Welch later reported, the old district had 59 Birch chapters; the new one, only five.

Rousselot, Hiestand and H. L. (Bill) Richardson, a young Birch member making his first race for Congress, all lost in last fall's general election. The national press reported a Birch rout. But local Republicans noticed that the three Birchers had raised more money than any other Congressional candidates in L.A. County (Rousselot reported expenditures of \$80,556.24) and had benefited from the most ardent core of workers in California politics. Only a massive election-day effort by Democratic pros defeated Rousselot—by just 3,410 votes.

Rousselot became the Birch Society's most useful new weapon. Handsome and blue-eyed, an ardent Christian Scientist, he gave the Birchers a new look of nonsecret activity and respectability. Robert Welch hired him as "District Governor" for the Far West. He opened a sleek, modern headquarters in the posh Los Angeles suburb of San Marino, recruited a dozen well-scrubbed, earnest young men as "coordinators" to organize in California. One was Bill Richardson, who works night and day in the suburbs.

In Utah, Reed Benson, son of former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, started recruiting among the Mormons after he lost a Congressional primary there last year. (Birchers turning up in Mormon chapels, like those in Christian Science churches, have inspired quiet, painful struggles in some congregations.) The Birch Society is no longer represented, as a Democrat once quipped, by "little old ladies in tennis shoes." It is led by young politicians with well-developed ambitions for GOP leadership.

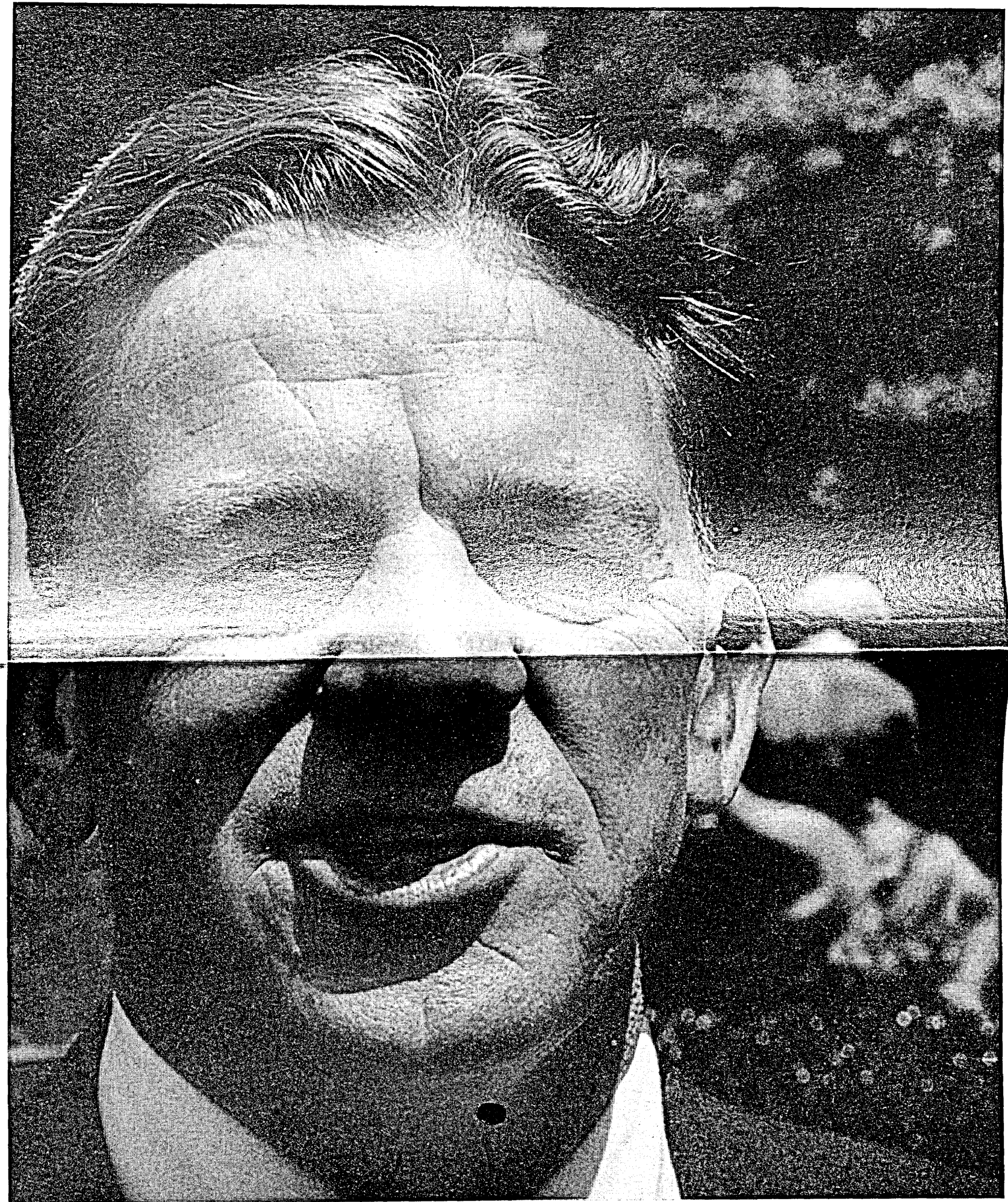
The young coordinators are building a base. Mr. Welch, as his followers respectfully address him, claims that his national membership doubled last year. Rousselot adds that in the first three months of this year, JBS gained more members, 30 percent more, than all of last year. Reed Benson claims to have tripled Birch enrollment in Utah, where he touts home-reading memberships for people who don't want anybody to spot them at chapter meetings. The actual membership totals remain a closely guarded secret. They sank briefly two years ago, but chapter activity and the heavy schedules of right-wing speakers like Nashville's Tom Anderson, who jets from city to city as the movement's barefoot wit, confirm the Society's claim that it is resurgent. "We grow," one chapter leader told Look, "like a fungus."

Birchers have developed a rowdy style of politics, as other Republicans can testify. Take Jack and Kitty De Stories of Covina, a suburb in the district where Rousselot ran for reelection last year. Jack, 31, a financial analyst, is an elected officer of the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee and a director of the statewide GOP businessmen's organization known as the California Republican Assembly (CRA). Kitty works hard at Republican women's activities. One night last summer, the De Stories invited the local CRA chapter, of which Jack was one of the leaders, to hold its annual election meeting in their home. The couple often let GOP groups use

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"Switching from Kennedy to Rockefeller would be like leaving a soiled diaper on the baby

and changing the safety pins."

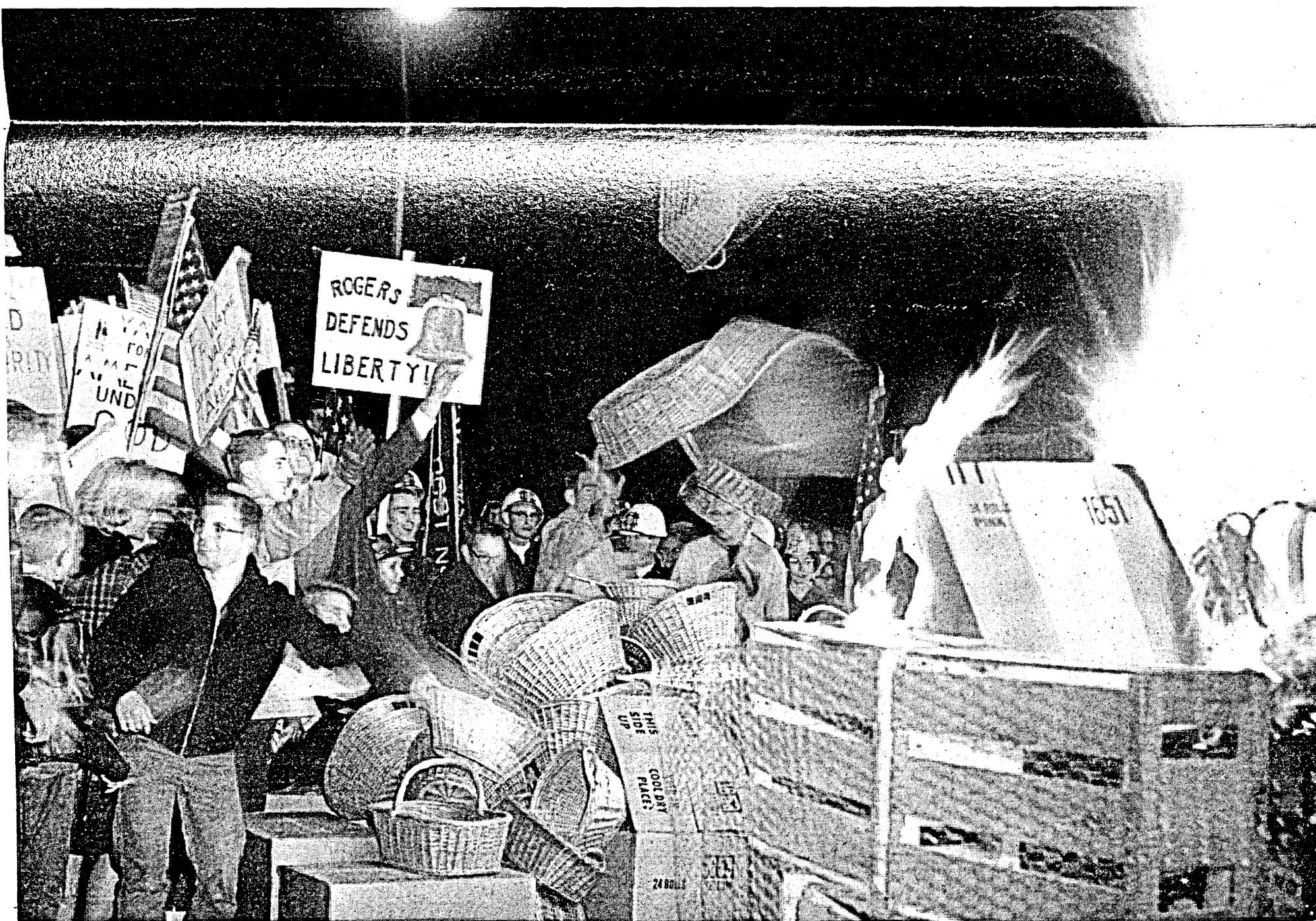


Tom Anderson, 51, owner-editor of Farm and Ranch, is the Birchers' Southern humorist. Like he says, "is the most overrated man since Santa Claus." Anderson preaches "grass-roots rebellion" against both major parties, "Socialist party A and Socialist party B. . . . Our leaders are not fighting communism—they're promoting it . . . treason is the reason." Goldwater would carry the South, and if the GOP nominates Rockefeller, "it deserves to die."

THE RAMPANT RIGHT continued

7 Suave William F. Buckley, Jr., (Yale '50) toastmastered a recent New York banquet for Charles Edison, ex-New Dealer and one of the few big businessmen aiding the far right.

Young Americans for Freedom run Ft. Wayne, Ind., campaign against Communist merchandise. Led by an adult counselor, YAF burned Yugoslav baskets that a supermarket owner donated.



The Republican party, wrote Birch founder Welch, must have help from "forces outside."

their house. Since the club had only 23 members, they expected no more than 15 to show up for a genial session.

That night, a paid Birch organizer rang in a band of noisy strangers and had them made members by the club's pro-Birch vice-president. The "instant" members voted in a new "instant" president, walked out with the club's records and checkbook. De Stories was left with three big cigarette holes in his carpet and a mischievously unplugged refrigerator. The same roving band—expanded once to 87 when they needed more votes—invaded two other CRA clubs.

Such rambunctious tactics fail only when responsible people fight back. CRA's leaders got busy last summer, revoked charters of wayward clubs, fended off an all-out take-over attack by the Birchers.

The fight went the other way in the California Young Republican Federation. This time the Birchers, old hands at YR politics, had the advantage of working behind a non-Birch candidate—young, wealthy, well-spoken Robert Gaston of Los Angeles—for state YR president. "I had known Bob Gaston when I was in Congress," explains Rousset. "One thing a person learns in the Birch Society is to work where it counts and stick with it." He worked long and hard. In the buildup to the election early this year, Birch organizers in Bakersfield and other cities suddenly packed the YR lists with new members, hung on opponents the dangerous tag of "liberal." Some Birch chapters just constituted themselves as YR clubs. When moderate YR leaders spoke out against the JBS "power grab," and documented the charge, an older Bircher darkly asked, in the press, why they should fear "the intrusion and infiltration of constitutional Americanism."

Gaston's Birch-backed campaign carried the YR convention this January. With whoop and holler, the new leadership added California's punch to the "gung-ho" conservatism that dominates Young Republican sessions in many states. Since 1959, the behind-the-scenes YR leaders—successors to those who once rah-rahed for Eisenhower against Robert Taft—have been shifting toward the political style of Arizona's Sen. Barry Goldwater. He uses their youth image.

In the older branches of the California COP, the right-wing rise has come as a part of a suburban revolt. "The California Club Crowd," as the downtown Los Angeles business leaders have been dubbed, found their dominant role in COP finances challenged in recent years by prospering rebels in the suburbs. The old hands, never exactly raving liberals, backed candidates whom many of the suburbanites considered a bit soft on communism. Example: Richard Nixon, in last year's gubernatorial primary and election. Nixon's friends lost control of the County Central Committee, had to raise campaign funds by direct contribution. The suburbanites, many of them Birchers, put their money directly into the Congressional races. Seeking peace and Birch funds, the downtowners seated Bircher Paul Talbert, Beverly Hills insurance man and member of the JBS National Council, on their United Republican Fund board.

But there is no peace, and the COP is now a shambles in the biggest state. Norman Chandler's Los Angeles Times, once the voice of party regularity, has been under attack since it ran an evenhanded series on the Birch Society: "The Times is moving heavily to the left," charges Rousset. In the absence of clear party leadership, the COP has come to be represented by any faction that is vocal in its name. That, for the moment, is the right wing. "The Birchers have taken over the COP image by default," says Aime Michaud, a party stalwart in Northern California. Thoughtful big businessmen, now a bit dismayed by the JBS, wait for somebody else to show leadership.

Such quiverish fret about the Birch Society only confirms the deep suspicions of the average dues-paying member. Be he truck driver or salesman, he is convinced that something's wrong with the big shots who run everything, the COP included. He knows for sure

that he is earnestly fighting communism, so why should any but Communists be scared of him? At his chapter meeting, he throbs with good old foot-stomping patriotism when the phonograph bellows out *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. He gets a lift from the Pledge of Allegiance and comes out strong on the "under God." He feels a healthy tweak of discipline when he stands up to applaud his leaders.

He is a student in the most thorough indoctrination school this side of the Communist party. "It's a discipline of education," says John Rousset, "not a discipline of leadership." Mr. Welch's long monthly *Bulletin* to each member does not command; it genially "educates" him, step by step, toward the Welch belief that the whole U. S. Government is in the firm grip of the Communists. The member can come along at his own pace. He does not have to decide whether General Eisenhower is, as Mr. Welch now puts it, "a mere stooge, or . . . a Communist assigned the specific job of being a political front man." The Founder's biography of Ike, *The Politician*, is now on sale for \$8 at chapter meetings and the 60 Birch libraries. But a new prologue explains why Mr. Welch did not make it required doctrine. He could not, he wrote, "lead people too rapidly into a realization of truths that they were unwilling to accept." Outside speakers help lead the faithful deeper into suspicion and anxiety. At Birch Chapter 307 in San Marino, ex-Maj. George Racey Jordan recently warned that under present economic policy, "you're going to be in exactly the same position you were in when they closed the banks in 1933."

The Birch member's local chapter is a seminar, kept small enough for him to take part. At meetings, he finds the Society's slick, sneering monthly, *American Opinion* (50 cents), assorted right-wing pamphlets and a dozen true-story books on all the Reds in our midst, put out cheap by "the largest anti-Communist publishing house." The well-read student also learns by doing. He lends a hand at forming Birch fronts, pushes the "Impeach Earl Warren" petitions that Mr. Welch seldom fails to mention. He may go on a Birch "card party" to tag Communist merchandise. (Birchers don't appreciate the businessman who looks down upon the JBS as—in Rousset's words—"below his dignity.") Or he may infiltrate the PTA and help a fellow member campaign for the school board to straighten out those teachers who—again Rousset—"have the attitude of being above us . . . a professional sophistication, like an untouchable thing."

It's a program of total, around-the-clock political activity. It gives the member a sense that he's taking a hand in his own destiny, if only by getting even with all those people who look down on him. Yet by the time a Bircher does his duties, he has become not a member of an organization like the COP, but an organic part of a "body," as Mr. Welch says, like the Communist party. And so, the faithful Bircher works his way up to the big thing that Mr. Welch spells out on pages 110 and 111 of *The Blue Book*, the JBS founding document:

"Finally, and probably most important of all these courses of action, we would put our weight into the political scales in this country just as fast and far as we could . . . especially if the Republican party then stands nationally for any Americanist principles whatsoever, it cannot win unless it has strong help and backing from forces outside . . . such as the Democratic party has on the other side in Walter Reuther's Committee on Political Education."

The Society does not formally contribute to campaigns. But the discipline of education tells members whom to back, and the leaders may hint a bit. In 1962, the Birchers contributed so much to their favorite candidates that they were in danger, Mr. Welch gently warned, of "forgetting us financially." The body's new strength will make it a major money factor in politics between now and November, 1964.

Robert Welch has become a serious embarrassment to the host of more sensible men and organizations that make up the diverse elements of "the Conservative Movement." Many knew of his beliefs long before the press uncovered his chief work of art, the Eisenhower book. But they foolishly kept silent. Then they attacked Welch's leadership, not the body he had shaped in his own image. Senator Gold-

continued

THE RAMPANT RIGHT continued

"We have been freed,"

says William F. Buckley, Jr., "from the burden of Eisenhower."



Pretty girls and earnest boys, activists in Buckley's YAF, happily picket U.S. Agriculture office in Indianapolis.

water, whose 1958 Senatorial campaign benefited from \$2,000 that Welch personally raised, suggested that the Birch founder resign, or that members reconstitute the Society under a new leader. "Mr. Welch has revived in many men the spirit of patriotism," wrote William F. Buckley, Jr., in his *National Review*, "and that same spirit calls now for rejecting, out of a love of truth and country, his false counsels."

The tactic did not work, in part because rightists felt so outnumbered that they could not bear to do in one of their own. Mr. Welch's body refused to cut off its head. Today, his Birch Society dominates the right-wing picture—not just the minds of sensation-seeking reporters—for the simple reason that it is more successful than the other groups. The leading Birchers also hold key spots in most active conservative enterprises. Though they may disagree privately with Mr. Welch's erratic intuitions, their acquiescent membership in his body, which indeed acts as an extension of his thought, taints their more reasonable efforts at political persuasion.

In the years ahead, however, the non-Birchers of the Conservative Movement, from radicals to reasonables, will have a deeper impact. They have already accomplished, to their own satisfaction, one major goal. "Our chief contribution has been to expose Modern Republicanism's intellectual emptiness," says Bill Buckley.

The Republican party's narrow loss of the 1960 Presidential race gave the entire right its strongest stimulus. The country went off Ike tranquilizers, went on Kennedy vigor pills. "We have been freed," says Buckley, "from the burden of Eisenhower." Though he would rather have a Nixon than a Kennedy, others disagree. Says the irrepressible Tom Anderson: "I think we're a lot better off with Kennedy than with Nixon. I think it's better to go to socialism at a hundred miles an hour than to go at fifty. It shocks people more."

The purification of the GOP—washing that Ike out of its hair—thus becomes the right's most important mission and the one to which it dedicates sizzling energy. To Robert Welch, Eisenhower is a traitor to his country. But to the new alliance of very old and very young conservatives now on the move, Ike and his big-business Cabinet are traitors to party ideology. When he appears at the 1964 Republican Convention, the former President may be treated to the hisses and laughs that his name often sets off in right-wing meetings.

The liturgy of the purifiers repeats and repeats the word "Goldwater." If elected President, they agree, the jet-flying Senator would "stop our drift into communism." In his name, often without his nod, a very wide assortment of people, from Birchers to stolid old party pros, demand that the GOP "give the voters a clear choice between Americanism and socialism." Some with delicate antennae fear that Goldwater, now almost convinced he should run, is softening his line to improve his prospects. But, for the most part, the right-wing's champion has avoided the kind of specific statements that would comfort the moderates—and cool the ardents.

The dedicated rightists are, as they often say, "Conservatives first and Republicans second." They are ready to lose almost any

election if the loss will help "reform" the GOP to fit their creed. They have devised a satchelful of tools to do the job. Many of them are consciously copied from Democratic liberals—who seem, to the concerned conservatives, gifted with a diabolical skill in such matters.

One tool is New York's Conservative party. Buckley's magazine came up with the idea for a "fourth party" to anchor the state GOP on the right, as the Liberal party has anchored the big state's Democrats on the left. A couple of *National Review* readers spontaneously adopted the suggestion, put two of the magazine's staff on their board and set up political shop. They soon threw a monkey wrench into Rockefeller's machine. Last year, their little-known candidate for governor cut 142,000 votes out of the majority racked up by Rockefeller, whose liberalism had made him their latest Public Enemy No. 1. They did more than tarnish his victory cup: They delivered a warning to the whole GOP. The Conservative party is legally locked on the New York ballot through 1966—"up there like Telstar," beams one strategist—and ready for use in protest against any Republican Presidential nominee who does not please the right. The GOP cannot ignore it. Only Rockefeller, or a candidate of like liberalism, has a chance to swing New York's big vote against Kennedy. But if the Conservative party has the will and the way to throw the state to Kennedy, the GOP must find a candidate able to pick up a bundle of new votes in other states. Who is he? The question comes with a built-in answer: Goldwater, whose backers believe that he really could take the Solid South and Texas from the restless old Democratic pros.

As conservatives copied one scheme from New York's Liberal party, so they took another from a group they revile, the Americans for Democratic Action. They built a reverse-ADA and called it ACA, Americans for Constitutional Action. In only four years of operation, ACA has built up more political muscle than ADA ever flexed in its heyday. ACA damns what ADA blesses. It opposes the graduated income tax, "bribery of the Sovereign States with 'handouts'" (the Federal-aid programs), costly internationalism (e.g., the purchase of UN bonds), and such measures as last year's trade act, which allows the President to cut tariffs. Democratic congressmen once attacked it as a "Birch front."

ACA makes a fundamental assault upon U.S. Government as it has developed since 1932. ACA-ers insist they are not "radicals," even though they fervently demand, in the name of the Founding Fathers, such a revolution in the status quo as to fit Webster's definition of radical: "one who advocates . . . sweeping changes in laws . . . and methods of government with the least delay. . . ."

ACA's Washington headquarters lists key votes in the House and Senate, rates each man's ideological purity on a percentage scale. The result: ACA's "Cumulative Consistency Index." It operates like the indices long published by ADA and the AFL-CIO's political arm, COPE. But, naturally, it comes out with opposite figures. Barry Goldwater grades 99 percent perfect on the votes he has cast since 1955, but Kentucky's able Republican Sen. John Sherman Cooper

has flunked, by ACA's grading system, on all but 25 percent of his votes.

The driving force in ACA is Adm. Ben Moreell, a selfless conservative. He now runs ACA as he formerly ran the "can-do" Seabees of World War II. In the 1962 campaigns, he fielded 18 "professional organizers and campaign specialists" to work quietly for 46 favored candidates. In its wider theater of political operations, ACA provided money and other help to a total of 184 candidates, of whom 135 won (14 of them Democrats). The Admiral claims for ACA a "substantial role" in sinking two incumbent senators and ten liberal members of the House. His organization has been the most decisive factor in the pattern of Republican change in Congress. While gaining fewer seats than expected, the GOP elected, in its Classes of '61 and '63, a band of some 25 "gung-ho" young conservatives. This new bloc works as a unit, pretty much the way the liberal caucus once operated on the other side of the aisle.

ACA reaches out through 29 local chapters across the country, but it serves mainly for money-raising and lacks the grass-roots fervor coveted by the Conservative Movement. In the grass-roots business, the Birch Society outgrows everybody else. However, many a less weedy organization has been sprouting among the under-35 set, all the way from California's Orange County to New York's Westchester. In Chicago's Near North Side, the liberal ladies of the Women for Peace March now find themselves outmarched by the North Side Young Conservatives, who ring doorbells for GOP candidates and throw cocktail parties (\$1.50 at the door) to raise funds. "We talk politics," explains a happy partygoer, "so the evening isn't wasted."

YAF LEADS THE YOUNG ACTIVISTS

The most active of the new groups is Young Americans for Freedom. YAF was born in 1960 on the Buckley family's Connecticut estate, and editor Buckley nourishes it through his magazine and some seventy lecture-circuit performances a year. YAF now claims a national membership of 20,000. Not all of the members share Buckley's aversion to "fetishistic" views of democracy. But they do share his bent for political activism to overcome the helpless feeling that one vote, out of 68 million, "has about the weight of a grain of sand."

YAF's chief in Indiana is dedicated Richard Allen, 24. Though he has a wife and three children, he suddenly quit his job as an insurance adjuster a year ago to be a full-time crusader. "Some conservatives have to make sacrifices," he said. He set up an office for YAF political action, soon solicited enough money from businessmen to pay his pared-down salary (\$95 a week), meet the office rent and hire a secretary. Allen eats little, works seven days most weeks and lets the grass at home go unmowed, while he "does a little research on Socialistic propaganda." He formed 18 new YAF chapters, many of them among ebullient teen-agers. One handsome YAF-er at Butler University checks out the political views of pretty girls so that he will not accidentally date a liberal. Courting couples go out gaily on picket lines to counter such menaces as peace marchers, to fight Medicare or to demand a "no" vote in the wheat referendum. Allen's forces now are gathering signatures on their nationwide "Draft Goldwater" petitions. "If they don't nominate Goldwater," Allen believes, "there will be a lot of effort around the country for a third party."

So it goes. ACA, YAF and dozens of other organizations and publications exert increasing pressure upon a Republican leadership already well to the right of its membership. The militants threaten to impose upon the GOP a hard-right orthodoxy as rigid, though opposite in ideology, as the left-wing line that labor once tried to impose upon the Democratic party. As the GOP moves right, Kennedy Democrats take over the whole center. Even now, the broad middle area once occupied by Rockefeller-style Republicans has come to look narrow. Top right-wing planners, letting the wish father the thought, counted Rockefeller out of the Presidential race before his Happy marriage. They worry instead about Eisenhower and Nixon throwing weight

behind Romney or Scranton.

Whatever it may do to the GOP, the right has already brought the fire of passion—a hotter flame than reason—back into politics. The emotion arises less from the leaders than the led, most of whom come fresh and fervid to any kind of politics or civic action. The typical member is a hard worker who has, in the postwar prosperity, outrun his economic dreams. He is ready to do things, but the civic groups and political parties lack the vitality to come collect his energy. He belongs, with many non-Birchers, to the latest big wave of citizens who have surged into the vast middle-class.

Newcomers have always had to fight, rudely, to prove themselves as good as the stuffed shirts already there. The Populists attacked the whole system—banks, railroads, political parties. In the '20's, revivalist Billy Sunday's white-shirted believers waved the Temperance banner and declared themselves better than all those whiskey-drinking rich people. The labor movement led the power play for the blue-collar, and McCarthy gave some ambitious Catholics the chance to claim they were "more American" than those overeducated pinkos. Now, roaring in, comes the new wave, led by the West's latest battalion of affluent migrants. They attack the biggest thing around, the Federal Government—which bites into their goodly but always tight budgets with taxes, is unable (or is it unwilling?) to get rid of world communism and turns a deaf ear to their cries of danger.

In this superheated situation, even the old-fashioned demagogues see opportunity. Jew-baiter Gerald L. K. Smith has popped up, active again. Smith's monthly, *The Cross and the Flag*, advises followers to infiltrate Birch chapters in search of members who will add the Jews to their list of Red conspirators. But Smith, the neo-Nazis and other racists get rough treatment from most right-wing leaders. One of Goldwater's attractions is his half-Jewish blood, which insures the right against the racist evil and the appearance of evil.

Though they ward off racists, the new right's leaders seem unable to purge themselves of Robert Welch. Nor will they until they can offer something more responsible than phantom Communists and freedom whoops. They have yet to put substance into what they call "the Conservative vision." The liberal vision of the future, whatever its Utopian defects, inspired men to specific action toward a better society. Now it has grown fat with success and stale in its addiction to Federal pills for all ills. What is the right's alternative? Buckley's deepest book, *Up From Liberalism*, attacked the liberal's apparent lack of a philosophy of goals. But his own proposed goals, to enhance individual freedom, offer few specifics for responsible men: "I will not willingly cede more power to anyone, not to the state, not to General Motors, not to the CIO."

This, he admits, is "a No-Program." In the name of conservatism, it does injustice to the responsible conservatives who work with the whole complex of their institutions—their businesses, their charities and (as little as possible) the different echelons of their government—to better the conditions in which they and their nation live. The no-program also leaves the new affluent with the heart-sinking certainty that the future offers nothing more worthy than a tax reduction. Without vision, the road ahead looms dark and dangerous.

But it is not impassable to any but the soul-sick minority. California's Thomas Kuchel, GOP Senate Whip, recently stood up and fought back at the "fright mail" flooding his office, as it does every office on the Hill. Kuchel's simple courage cleared the air. Back came 13,000 letters. Hundreds were "unsigned epistles sopping with hate and bigotry," but, significantly, the whole pile counted out four-to-one for Kuchel. Many citizens who had never before written to Washington declared their determination to stand against extremism. They, like other Americans in the years just ahead, will have to fight at home for what they believe and, in the fight, come to know better and care more for what it is. The '64 campaign, already boiling, promises to be this generation's hottest political test.

END

NUREYEV:

Top male dancer who quit the Soviets dazzles the West

was past. He had enthusiastically exploited the few opportunities his native Bashkir afforded and, at 17, had won a scholarship to the Kirov Ballet's school. The achievement was remarkable, for the Kirov likes its dancers to begin at half that age. Still more remarkable was his progress within the company. His independent ways were almost immediately resented, yet it had taken him only six years to whirl into prominence as the Soviet Union's most promising young male dancer.

After captivating Paris on his first Western tour, he had eagerly looked forward to the company's trip to London and the chance to duplicate his success there. Beyond that, the road pointed to a long, secure, increasingly brilliant career in his native land—where no artist is more honored or better rewarded than the great dancer—if he minded, and mended, his ways. When he arrived at Le Bourget airport, however, Kirov officials told him that he was not going to London. He was being continued

BY RICHARD SCHICKEL PHOTOGRAPHED BY BERT STERN

Nureyev rehearses favorite role, Albrecht in Giselle. In it, he thinks he comes closest to realizing his dance ideals.



File: Group Research
January, 1965
the starting push,

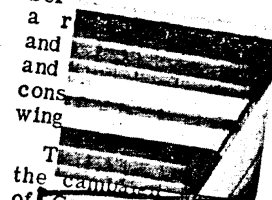
John Galsworthy
IN WASHINGTON

Liberal coalition works to exterminate rightists

By Ralph de Toledano

Anonymous Congressmen last week demonstrated once again that clarity begins at home. By an overwhelming non-roll-call vote, they rejected an amendment that would prohibit swimming pools in the third House Office Building now under construction.

U.S. JOURNAL



By FULL

Third House O More Expensive

\$131 Million Boondoggle

The "Committee on the Constitution" of Group Research, Inc. This outfit, conceived by Emanuel M. Ravchik, an active Socialist whose nominal job is with the Jewish labor's powerful Committee on Political Education, set itself up in business as an open black-list of conservatives. To "subscribers" it sent out a stream of material purporting to give the backgrounds of all of those who opposed the liberal-left-labor coalition. It urged these "subscribers" to protest .. and if possible prevent .. the appearance of conservatives on lecture platforms, TV programs, or on radio. It aimed its fire primarily on the scattering of conservatives in the mass communications media.

AT THE SAME time, Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and vice president of the AFL-CIO .. a man with great power in Washington .. called on Attorney General Robert

by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith which humps in to this year's political festivities with a bang. Even the New York Times noted the significance of the book's timing. Its long-range objective is to shut off funds to all conservative groups by making it uncomfortable, if not dangerous, for those who support them.

This is not the first time that ADL has entered a realm of political activity. Though it was presumably set up to uncover and combat anti-Semitism, it ranged far and wide in the 1940s.

In the current effort, one institution is ADL's particular target .. the small and conservative Harding College. And what is Harding College's crime? That despite its smallness and its limited funds, it has been remarkably successful in bringing to students and to the general public a program of economic education which rebuts the Key-

"He's the fellow who never away with it, the one who volunteer doesn't have to, who tries to do better, who has to be reminded to go home because he's so lost in his work, whose heart beats faster and who gets choked up when the band plays 'The Star Spangled Banner' and the flag unfurls."

Mrs. Smith concluded:

"One of America's greatest needs today is for more people who are 'squares'."

Your editor says: Amen!

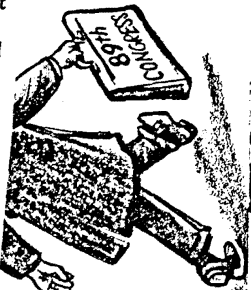
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Right Wing

Group Research, Inc.

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"Justice is a machine that, when some one has once given it the starting-push, rolls on of itself."

—John Galsworthy

editorials

by
SAL B. HOFFMANN
International President

Senator Margaret Chase Smith recently reminded a New York audience how, in times past, the word "square" had a favorable connotation—as in a square meal, a square deal or a square shooter.

"Squares"

Needed

"But what," she asked, "is a square now?" Answering her own question, Senator Smith said: "He's the fellow who never learned to get away with it, the one who volunteers when he doesn't have to, who tries to do better than others, who has to be reminded to go home because he's so lost in his work, whose heart beats faster and who gets choked up when the band plays 'The Star Spangled Banner' and the flag unfurls."

Mrs. Smith concluded:

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The landslide by which American voters returned President Johnson to the White House, along with his very liberal running mate, Hubert Humphrey, was a stunning defeat to "extremism" as a major issue and for Barry Goldwater personally; but it did little to affect the continuing activities of the right-wing movement. The popularity contest went overwhelmingly against the right wingers, but they still own all the marbles they had when they entered the game, even though some of their political idols were retired.

Right Wing Back at Game

In fact, the far right showed a new high-water mark in political activity and is now free to go back to its same old game of reaction, attack, suspicion, organization and division. After all, the right wing works every day, not just at election time, the same as others. In fact, their forces are now freed from activity aimed at getting immediate votes. Five general observations seem to be supported by the election results:

1. **Extremism, as a major political issue, has been soundly defeated.** The issue was drawn quite clearly even before the Republican Party chose its candidate at the San Francisco convention. New York's Gov. Rockefeller made a case against Goldwater as an extremist for nearly a year before the California primary where Goldwater clinched his ultimate control of the GOP.

2. **But there will be a resurgence of conservatism, if not extremism.** The basis for this observation is articulated by the editorial comment of a die-hard conservative newspaper, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat: "The one-sided election should not obscure the fact that there is a true resurgence of conservative thought in America which failed to show itself as vast numbers of moderate and conservative Republicans simply could not bring themselves to vote for Goldwater."

3. **The extent of the right-wing take-over is not generally realized.** Even after Goldwater won nomination on the first ballot, many people could not realize that an apparatus, as well as a philosophy of conservatism, was operating within the GOP. As the campaign progressed, and Goldwater men threw their weight around, this became more obvious; but the real depth of

penetration is not yet fully known.

Bits and pieces of the story involve Goldwater's chief speech writer, Karl Hess, a veteran of several right-wing movements. However, there are many parts which have not yet been examined. For example, a half-hour of prime TV time for Goldwater was allotted to two famous Hollywood personalities, Ronald Reagan and John Wayne, who are not generally identified with the right wing but have been active in it.

Reagan is best known as a GE-sponsored personality and speaker at groups such as chambers of commerce and the Farm Bureau, but he has also been active with Dr. Fred Schwarz, has solicited membership in Young Americans for Freedom, and has presented such favorite right-wing themes, as income-tax repeal. Wayne has also appeared on Schwarz programs and is on the advisory board of H. L. Hunt's Life Line Foundation.

4. **Tactics branded as dirty are likely to continue.** Sideline observers agree that this was one of the dirtiest campaigns in history, but few of them have thought about the continuing nature of the tactics they deplore. With few exceptions, these tactics will continue substantially, for they are the tactics of the far right more than of this specific campaign between Democrats and Republicans. Aside from run-of-the-mill name calling, the major activity complained of this year was publication of three paperback books and a tabloid—not by official campaign headquarters, but by established radical rightists. This is new.

Fair Campaign Committee Director Bruce Felknor criticized this development in "dirty books," which reached a circulation of some 17 million. "Never have campaign documents of such sheer bulk been distributed in such mass," he concluded. "The burden of the big three was to make out Lyndon Johnson to be totally cor-

NEW
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PROGRAMS



that I had discussed the issue of shipping foreign aid to India asked McCune.

IN WASHINGTON
**Liberal coalition works
to exterminate rightists**

Sept. 23-1964

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liberalism, prevalent among groups, academic and government economists, that deficit spending is virtuous and a balanced budget sinful. The ADL book will be used by liberal labor groups to attack corporations and foundations which have, to a tiny extent, attempted to counterbalance the overwhelming liberalism of America's tax-exempt spending. Except for the trickle of funds going to the handful of conservative scholars who find it impossible to find anyone to subsidize his research in the social, political, and economic sciences. This, of course, is the idea. (Copyright, 1964, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

IN WASHINGTON

Sept 23 - 1964

Liberal coalition works to exterminate rightists

By Ralph de Toledano

Shortly after the 1960 election, a group of leftwing publicists and activists decided that never again should conservatives be allowed to threaten the liberal-left-labor coalition as it had in the Presidential photo-finish which won John F. Kennedy the Presidency.



This group had no formal designation or membership lists. But it included official and unofficial representatives of the AFL-CIO, the Jewish Labor Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, and a number of other organizations. As a result of informal meetings and consultations, a systematic and sustained campaign against conservatives and other right-wingers was launched.

The most important result of the campaign was the creation of Group Research, Inc. This outfit, conceived by Emanuel Muravchik, an active Socialist whose nominal job is with the Jewish labor's powerful Committee on Political Education, set itself up in business as an open black-list of conservatives. To "subscribers" it sent out a stream of material purporting to give the backgrounds all of those who opposed the liberal-left-labor coalition. It urged these "subscribers" to protest .. and if possible prevent .. the appearance of conservatives on lecture platforms, TV programs, or on radio. It aimed its fire primarily on the scattering of conservatives in the mass communications media.

AT THE SAME time, Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and vice president of the AFL-CIO .. a man with great power in Washington .. called on Attorney General Robert

Kennedy to discuss the possibility of placing all right-wing groups on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Mr. Reuther wanted to use the Federal power of prosecution to frighten right-of-center forces out of existence. Since to Mr. Reuther anything right of ADA smacks of fascism, the standard to be applied becomes obvious. (Walter Reuther's plan was hidden away when a memo he wrote for Mr. Kennedy, outlining it in all its glory, was made public by this writer and others.)

Group Research, Inc., has been remarkably effective in making it more difficult for conservatives to be heard .. or to make a living. Its highly melodramatic reports circulate in small towns and big cities, in the offices of advertising agencies, and across the desks of editorial writers. Through GRI, COPE, and the wide world of liberal propaganda many Americans have been confused to the point where they now lump together everyone right of center under the term "extremist."

nesian notion, prevalent among academic and government economists, that deficit spending is virtuous and a balanced budget sinful.

The ADL book will be used by liberal-left-labor groups to attack corporations and foundations which have, to a tiny extent, attempted to counterbalance the overwhelming liberalism of America's tax-exempt spending. Except for the trickle of funds going to the handful of conservative scholar would find it impossible to find anyone to subsidize his research in the social, political, and economic sciences. This, of course, is the idea. (Copyright, 1964, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

NOW COMES a book prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith which humps into this year's political festivities with a bang. Even the New York Times noted the significance of the book's timing. Its long-range objective is to shut off funds to all conservative groups by making it uncomfortable, if not dangerous, for those who support them.

This is not the first time that ADL has entered a realm of political activity. Though it was presumably set up to uncover and combat anti-Semitism, it ranged far and wide in the 1940s.

In the current effort, one institution is ADL's particular target .. the small and conservative Harding College. And what is Harding College's crime? That despite its smallness and its limited funds, it has been remarkably successful in bringing to students and to the general public a program of economic education which rebuts the Key-

Washington

(File)

Reuther Behind Group Research

AFL-CIO President George Meany and VP Walter Reuther on the outs again: this time it's over the left wing Washington-based outfit Group Research, Inc. Meany privately opposes union money financing the outfit, doesn't like its selling "research" material linking everyone right of Reuther with the "radical right"—even liberal Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.). Reuther, however, thinks it's a good idea. His administrative assistant, Jacob Claymen, has told acquaintances he helped establish GRI.

10 Aug 1963 Human Events

8



editorials
by
SAL B. HOFFMANN
International President

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—John Galsworthy

UJU JOURNAL

January, 1965

File: Group Research

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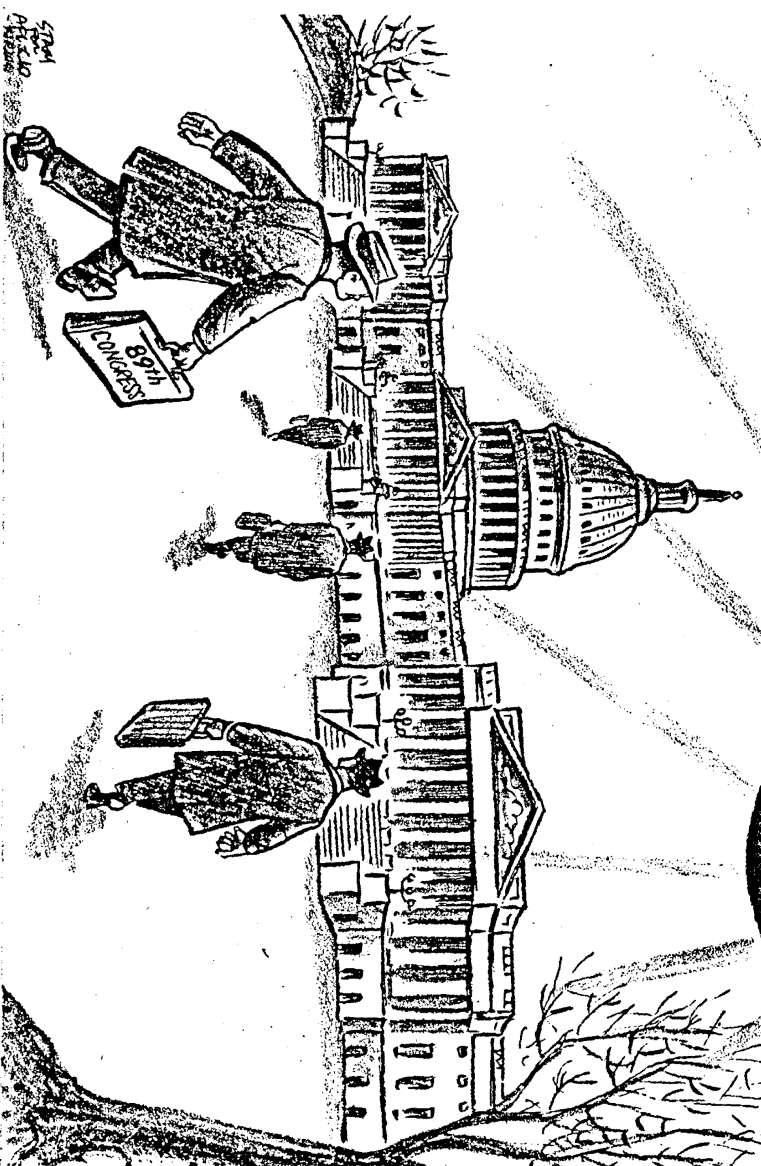
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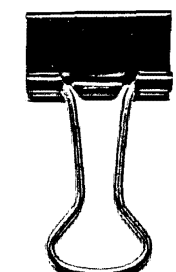
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Right Wing



I saw fear in her eyes.

HERBERT A. PHILBRICK
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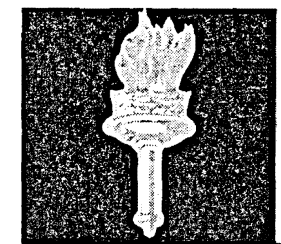


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APR 4 1969

Democracy, Inc. Sec 4 - SPECIAL REPORT #4
husetts Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C. 20005 Feb-Mar., 1969

ICAN DEMOCRACY (hereafter IAD) was announced in late 1966



NEWS & VIEWS

Eternal Vigilance is Forever the Price of Freedom

Vol. 30, No. 1

Wheaton, Illinois 60187

January 1967

THE INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, INC.

On November 18th, 1966, Dr. Franklin H. Littell called a press conference in Washington, D. C., to announce the formation of a "new organization," the Institute for American Democracy, Inc. (hereinafter the IADI), with headquarters in Washington, D. C.

Knowledgeable reporters and political observers recognized some familiar names among the prominent sponsors of the "new organization" and recalled a similar announcement by Dr. Arthur Larson in September 1964 of the formation of the National Council for Civic Responsibility (hereinafter, the NCCR). [See *News & Views*, March 1965.]

The press responded with noticeable restraint the second time around. Unlike 1964 when the *New York Times* gave front-page coverage, the 1966 story was relegated to page 20. Perhaps even the *New York Times* is learning!

Before devoting attention to Dr. Littell, the IADI, its program and sponsors, there is much to be learned from the short and turbulent life of the NCCR.

NCCR: Irresponsibility

In a word, the NCCR was an exercise in deceit—certainly upon the public and, more than likely, upon some of its members and supporters. More than 125 of the nation's prominent personages of religion, higher education, science, business, finance, arts, letters, and civic life lent the prestige of their names to the NCCR.

Like the current IADI, the old NCCR focussed its attack on the John Birch Society and the "extremists of the Radical Right." Dr. Littell in his initial press conference used exactly the same guilt-by-association technique as had Dr. Larson in his initial press conference when the NCCR was launched. Both maligned the Church League of America. With typical irresponsibility, the NCCR's chairman, Arthur Larson, who is also a member of the IADI's sponsoring committee, refused to answer any of the communications of protest from the Executive Director of the Church League of America.

Subject File

(7A7)

One of NCCR's members, Republican industrialist Clarence B. Randall, resigned from the NCCR because Dr. Larson refused to reply to a letter of protest from Dean Clarence Manion who objected to a twisted and malicious audio-caricature of himself on an NCCR broadcast.

We shall return later to the question of the Church League of America and the John Birch Society.

Political Deceit

As with the NCCR in 1964 (during the election campaign), the IADI has billed itself as non-partisan, including "figures from both political parties." We would like to know the name of one IADI "Republican" who supported the national Republican ticket in 1964!

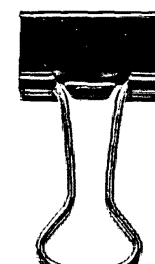
In the case of the NCCR, the claim of non-partisanship was clearly fraudulent from the outset—the ratio of Democrats to Republicans among NCCR members was 2½ to 1. Furthermore, some of the alleged Republicans were of the liberal variety like chairman Arthur Larson who came out publicly in large newspaper advertisements against Senator Goldwater and for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

The most shocking duplicity of the NCCR came to light in March 1965, months after the Presidential election campaign of 1964, during which the NCCR played such a "non-partisan" role in stirring up the false issue of right-wing extremism against Senator Barry Goldwater.

The election safely over, it became known that the Democratic National Committee had given \$60,000 to the NCCR, and this was nearly half of the total of \$130,000 raised by the phony front organization. Not only the \$60,000 but the contributions of innocent givers (if there were any such suckers) were channeled to the labor bosses' Public Affairs Institute [See *News & Views*, March 1965] and Group Research [See *News & Views* Special Report, September 1963].

The public and the press were also victimized, albeit some willingly. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of free time on network television and space in newspapers and national magazines were devoted to liberal Democratic fear-smear propaganda whose only relevance in the 1964 campaign was to hurt the Republican candidate for the Presidency and any other conservative candidates who could be tarred with the same ugly brush.

Shortly after the 1964 election the NCCR closed its shabby New York office and its chairman, Arthur Larson, resigned. Regretfully, he was unable to find any other dirty work for which large secret contributors could be found. The organization was absorbed into the Washington offices of the Public Affairs Institute, with only a small number of local groups more or less active. Not much has been heard from the NCCR for more than a year.



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How New?

Now, there is a "new" organization, the Institute for American Democracy, Inc. (IADI), with headquarters in Washington, D. C.

In all essential respects, the "new" IADI is merely a slight variation of the 1964 NCCR, a kind of Phoenix arising from the ashes of defeat. Having received a drubbing from conservatives in the recent elections of 1966, the liberals realize that they must start now in order to affect the all-important elections of 1968. Make no mistake, the IADI is a political organization, just as the NCCR was.

Look at the striking similarities of the NCCR and the IADI:

Finances are secret: Dr. Littell "declined to discuss amounts and contributors at this time because he said he did not want to subject contributors to abuse. Eventually, he said, the institute's financial information will be made public." (New York Times, November 19, 1966)

Just like the NCCR?

Objectives are the same: According to the New York Times, "The emphasis in his [Dr. Littell's] remarks and in the literature released was on the John Birch Society and its associations."

We shall discuss later the gimmick of IADI's announced attack on the left.
Personnel: It is either identical or more of the same. (See below and later pages of this issue of *News & Views*.)

Personnel

Not counting the chairman or executive director, the IADI's sponsoring committee of prominent citizens has 47 members. Of these, 15 were members of the NCCR. Thus, approximately one third of IADI's "prominent church, business, education, labor union and public service leaders" were part of the fancy window dressing of the nefarious NCCR.

How many times can a lamb dumbly be shorn of its integrity and still be considered innocent?

The IADI supporters who lent their names to the NCCR hoax are given below. Let any who dislike what we say refute the facts or publicly apologize, if they wish.

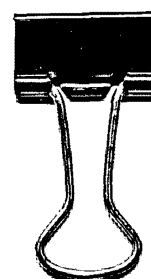
Thurman Arnold, Washington lawyer, former U.S. Circuit Judge
Harry Ashmore, director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Dr. John C. Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary
Jacob Blaustein, a director of Standard Oil Company of Indiana and a former member of the United States delegation to the United Nations
Oscar A. De Lima, president of the Roger Smith Hotel Corporation
Oscar Ewing, former Federal Security Administrator

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Marion B. Folsom, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
Bishop A. Raymond Grant, president of the Methodist Board of Social Concerns
Dr. William Haber, dean of the College of Literature, University of Michigan
Dr. Arthur Larson, former director of the United States Information Agency
George C. Lodge of Harvard University's Graduate School of Business Administration
Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution
Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union
Dore Schary, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League
Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Other members of IADI's sponsoring committee include:

Morris Abram, president of the American Jewish Committee
Msgr. Salvatore J. Adamo, executive editor of The Catholic Star Herald
Dr. Irvamae Applegate, president of the National Education Association
The Rev. Colman J. Barry, president of St. John's University
Daniel Bell, professor of sociology, Columbia University
Francis Biddle, former Attorney General
Dr. John H. Burt, Episcopal Bishop-elect of Ohio
Hodding Carter, publisher of The Delta Democrat-Times
Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey
William B. Cate, executive secretary of the Greater Portland (Ore.) Council of Churches
John Cogley, religious news editor, The New York Times
Samuel Dalsimer, vice chairman of Grey Advertising, Inc., New York
The Rev. Ray Gibbons, executive director of the United Church of Christ's Council for Christian Social Action
Edwin G. Halperin, chairman of the Blackstone Manufacturing Company, Chicago
E. A. Hayes, president of the Hawkeye National Investment Company
Dr. David Hunter, deputy general secretary of the National Council of Churches
C. E. Israel, vice president of Fashion Frocks
Dr. Joseph F. Kerrins, consultant, New England Birch Watchers, Attleboro, Mass.
Leon Keyserling, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers
Dr. Martin E. Marty, literary editor, The Christian Century
Senator Gale W. McGee, Democrat of Wyoming
Prof. Vernon Mickelson, department of organizational sciences, Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland

Mrs. Norma Morrison, co-chairman, Committee on Advancing the Democratic Process, Glenview, Ill.
Senator Frank E. Moss, Democrat of Utah
James Patton, president emeritus of the Farmers Union
Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
Edward A. Ring, president of Circle F. Industries, Trenton, N. J.
The Rev. John R. Sheering, C.S.P., editor of The Catholic World
George N. Shuster, assistant to the president of the University of Notre Dame
Asa Spaulding, chairman of the board of the North Carolina Life Insurance Company
Louis Untermeyer, a poet and former poetry consultant to the Library of Congress
Dr. Kimball Wiles, dean of the College of Education, University of Florida

As we have said, IADI's chairman is Dr. Franklin H. Littell, president of Iowa Wesleyan College and former senior Protestant adviser to the United States High Commissioner in Germany. Charles R. Baker is the executive director.

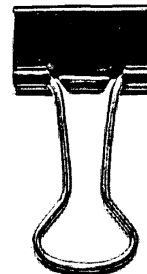
The identifications given above are from the New York Times, without any changes by News & Views.

Franklin H. Littell

The spokesman for IADI is Dr. Franklin Littell, a Methodist clergyman, who is president of Iowa Wesleyan College and former Protestant adviser to the United States High Commissioner in Germany. According to his autobiography in *Who's Who*, Dr. Littell is approaching fifty years of age, received degrees from Cornell, Union Theological Seminary, and Yale, and has written a number of books and articles.

Perhaps a restless nature is indicated by the following record of movement: 1940-42, Detroit's Central Methodist Church; 1944-49, University of Michigan; 1949-51, OMGUS-HICOG, Germany; 1951-53, Boston University; 1953-58, Franz Lieber Foundation, St. Paul, Minnesota; 1958-60, Emory University; 1960-62, Southern Methodist University; 1962-66, Chicago Theological Seminary; 1966, Iowa Wesleyan College. Dr. Littell has also been affiliated with a number of religious youth organizations and is a consultant for the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Dr. Littell in 1962 addressed a meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and declared that it was "a lie" that the drafters of the Constitution created "a Christian nation." He also described and deplored what he called the efforts of Protestants "to control public life." This attack upon his own faith, in part, may have qualified Dr. Littell to be an official observer for the Methodist World Council at the Second Vatican Council in Rome in 1964.



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In May 1964, Dr. Littell testified before the House Judiciary Committee against the proposed Constitutional Amendment to authorize non-sectarian prayers in the public schools. He took the occasion to indulge in some extremely dirty vilification of those who dared to disagree with him. Referring to "an unholy alliance of political and religious reaction," he stated:

The characteristic style of this alliance is a massive assault on the civil order, upon due process of law, and upon our most hallowed American institutions; the assault itself is but partially masked by the misuse of an outward show of religion, by the repetition of pious phrases, by the affrontery of the big lie: that our constitutional tradition of separation of the two covenants is "secularistic," "antireligion," or even "communistic." The most direct parallel to the combination of lowgrade spiritual forces which helped to bring Nazism to power in Germany is most striking.

Now, would any objective reader consider Dr. Littell's statement as "extremist?" We call it vicious smear mongering.

In this testimony Dr. Littell also reiterated his attack upon the "myth" that our founding fathers established a "Christian nation." This seems to be an obsession with Dr. Littell.

On more than one occasion Dr. Littell has been presented to audiences as an anti-Communist or as "one of the nation's most outstanding foes of communism." Dr. Littell then proceeds to put his foot in his mouth by attacking the House Committee on Un-American Activities and such true foes of Communism as Whittaker Chambers, Herbert Philbrick and others. What kind of anti-Communism is this?

Perhaps one reason Dr. Littell despises the House Committee on Un-American Activities is that it has published the documents which show Dr. Littell's involvement in the Communist movement, *not as a CP member* but as a participant in the front apparatus. Let us examine the record:

Dr. Littell: American Youth Congress

Dr. Littell was a delegate to the Second World Youth Congress, according to its official report. The Congress was held at Vassar College, August 16-23, 1938. The host organization was the American Youth Congress.

Dr. Littell does not deny having been affiliated with the American Youth Congress which was cited as subversive and Communist by two Attorneys General of the United States and two committees of the House of Representatives during 1939-48. Citing a letter from Dr. Littell dated January 15, 1957, Ralph Lord Roy wrote in *Communism and the Churches*, page 105:

One of the most vigorous and alert organizations to join the American Youth Congress was the National Council of Methodist Youth. A key figure in the N.C.M.Y. was Franklin H. Littell, who quickly emerged as a leader in the anti-Communist faction within the A.Y.C. He and others allied with him hoped that by careful

planning they could free the Congress from all threat of Communist domination. They were supported by the Socialists, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a few labor unions, representatives from the Pilgrim Fellowship (Congregational), the Quakers, and usually the Trotskyists. Despite their efforts, they finally lost.

Dr. Roy and Dr. Littell raise more questions than they answer:

1) Why is no documentation offered? A personal letter some twenty years after the fact is not very convincing.

2) Just how strong was the opposition of Dr. Littell and the National Council of Methodist Youth? Organizations like the Boy Scouts of America, the Boys' Club of America, and other youth organizations refused to send delegates. The New York City Council rescinded a resolution of welcome and the Common Council of the City of Poughkeepsie as well as its Mayor refused to welcome the delegates.

The World Youth Congress was widely known to have been loaded with Communists and their sympathizers. Dr. Littell and his group could have stayed home.

The record indicates, moreover, that the National Council of Methodist Youth was anything but anti-Communist at that time. Its chairman of Social Action, Al Hamilton, wrote in *Fight*, the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, in March 1935, an inflammatory article challenging the loyalty of Christians to our governmental and economic system. This is just one example of a story beyond the scope of this article.

At Poughkeepsie in 1938, the National Council of Methodist Youth was one of fourteen groups described as a "minority" who protested that the World Youth Congress resolutions on "collective security" were railroaded through the meeting without adequate debate. The "minority" was in favor of international cooperation, "not based on force or coercion as is Collective Security." In the newspaper accounts of the Congress we do not find any report that the "minority" had any hope that—to use Dr. Roy's words—"they could free the Congress from all threat of Communist domination." On the face of it, this was ridiculous!

Even after the Poughkeepsie experience the National Council of Methodist Youth did not withdraw from the American Youth Congress. The Methodist youth organization appeared on the convention program of the A.Y.C. when it met in 1940 in St. Louis. At this time, Dr. Littell was a member of the national executive committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth.

If we are to judge by Dr. Littell's experience with the American Youth Congress, the Communists have little to fear from him. We have yet to see any evidence that Dr. Littell was ever an effective anti-Communist.

Dr. Littell: American Youth for Democracy

For anyone professing to be repelled by the actions of the Communists in the American Youth Congress to become involved with the American Youth for

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Democracy is inexcusable. This is doubly true for anyone as active in the Christian youth movement as Dr. Littell.

In 1943 the Young Communist League over night became the American Youth for Democracy, with no change in personnel, locale, telephone number, or objectives. It was cited as Communist by two Attorneys General, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It was also described for what it was at the time by astute anti-Communists.

Yet in 1947 Dr. Littell's name appeared on an American Youth for Democracy release entitled "Facts on the Current Widespread Campaign Against Academic Freedom." He is listed as a signer of a statement condemning attacks on the American Youth for Democracy and on academic freedom. The statement was addressed to the University of Michigan Academic Freedom Committee. (Source: a report prepared for the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the late Francis E. Walter, July 24, 1961.) Dr. Littell was at the University of Michigan at the time.

The Communist press used the American Youth for Democracy document in combatting an attempt of the State of Michigan to expose the activities of the Communist Party among Michigan college students. See the *Daily Worker*, May 15, 1947, page 5, and the *New Masses* for April 29, 1947, pages 18 and 19. The Communists gloated over the list of signers for "academic freedom."

Is this what Dr. Littell means by being anti-Communist?

Dr. Littell: Methodist Federation for Social Action

Dr. Littell was affiliated with the Methodist Federation for Social Action as late as 1949. In the organization's publication, *Social Questions Bulletin*, for February-March 1949 (page 48), Dr. Littell's name appears on a ballot as a nominee for membership on the executive committee. His name also appears on a 1947 ballot for the same position.

Prior to 1947 the organization was known as the Methodist Federation for Social Service. A letterhead dated April 12, 1946, shows Dr. Littell to have been a member of the executive committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. His name also appears as a nominee on a ballot of 1945.

In 1945, Dr. Littell also wrote a series of three articles for the Methodist Federation for Social Service. They appeared in *Social Questions Bulletin* for February, March, and April 1945, respectively under the following titles:

February:	A Cell in Every Church
March:	Protestantism Is a "Success"
April:	Formation of the Group

On July 7, 1953, the late Benjamin Gitlow testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning Dr. Littell's articles. Mr. Gitlow was

a very high-ranking official of the Communist Party who defected from the Party and spent the balance of his life fighting Communism. He knew the Communist movement intimately inside and out and was well equipped to analyze Communist tactics and propaganda. He said:

Mr. Littell's organizational proposals on the infiltration of religion follow closely the cell techniques on infiltration described in the thesis on organization of both the Communist Party and the Communist International. In his second article, Protestantism is a "Success"—note, success in quotation marks, his views put him in favor of planned economy and in the camp of the Communists who like to call themselves liberals. He writes:

When the Christian Mobilizers and the Christian American Association launch well-financed campaigns to defend monopoly capitalism in the name of "free enterprise," the lip service of Protestant liberals to "planned economy" does not hide the fact that we are doing little indeed to equip centers of disciplined action to effect our well-stated purposes. And labor is wise enough to know that in a showdown between class interest and poorly disciplined good intentions, our middle-class congregations will follow pocketbook rather than liberal program.

To carry out aggressively and boldly a program to win support among church people for a system of planned economy and to build up opposition to the American economic system, Littell strongly advocates the cell concept of organization, developed by the Communists, as the most important element in the formation of the group. Here are some of the salient points of his thesis.

The ethical concern grows out of the group; it is not the center which has brought the group together in the first place.

The center which brought the group together in the first place is the cell. The driving force in the Methodist Federation for Social Action, is the small cell that knows where it is going, that is disciplined and the driving force in the organization. The record will show that the cell in the federation consistently follows the Communist Party line.

Mr. Littell describes the cell as follows:

The cell is a face-to-face group without turnover in membership.

He elaborates:

This working unit in our time is usually called "the cell," a term describing a living thing which subdivides and becomes a whole body.

That is precisely the theory behind the Communist strategy of infiltration, the Communist cell to eventually become the whole body, the dominant force in the organizations, institutions infiltrated. That Mr. Littell knows he is writing about

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the Communist concept of organization is clear from the following words of his article, A Cell in Every Church:

There are some progressive movements today which have rediscovered the importance of keeping the basic unit small if much is to happen.

The only so-called progressive movements that are consciously built on the cell concept of organization is the Communist Party, the Communist-front organizations and the trade unions and other organizations in which the Communist cells have gained control.

Mr. Littell expands his cell thesis of organization by stating:

Action is undertaken with a sense of discipline which can never be attained by an open meeting called in enthusiasm for the carrying out of some program. For social action, like the missionary outstretch of the group, is conceived as the carefully worked out plan of community purpose—a plan whose carrying power rests in the life of cell, rather than the scattered individual efforts of many well-meaning people.

Mr. Littell, it is plain to see, is a strong advocate of secrecy, on the part of the cell, in the adoption of program leading to action. Why? Because the real motives behind the program can be hidden. The tactic of secrecy is followed by Communist cells in all movements infiltrated and in all front organizations. The Communists not only hide their identity but they never disclose the real reasons and objectives behind the movements they initiate on specific issues and the measures they support and the action they advocate.

The cell form of organization, made up of small disciplined group, bound by a common ideology, meeting in secret behind closed doors, is what Mr. Littell favors and which the leadership of the Methodist Federation for Social Action endorses. What is their purpose? Their purpose is to seize control of the church. Mr. Littell describes the process as follows:

As the cells grow, divide, and separate, they will be white corpuscles of health within the larger Christian community. (pages 2120-1)

In 1948 the House Committee on Un-American Activities labelled the Methodist Federation for Social Action "a tool of the Communist Party denounced by numerous loyal American Methodists," and in the same year the organization was identified as a Communist front by the California State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities. In 1956 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee also declared the Methodist Federation for Social Action to be a religious Communist front organization.

Never officially a part of the Methodist Church, the Methodist Federation for Social Action was publicly repudiated by the Church in 1952 and was forced to vacate its offices in the Methodist building in New York City.

Ralph Lord Roy, in *Communism and the Churches*, states that Dr. Littell was among those who "expressed serious doubts about the wisdom of selecting McMichael" as executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, presumably in 1944 (pages 298 and 460). Jack McMichael, they remembered, had been associated with the Communists in the American Youth Congress. So, "the skeptics" wrote to Mr. McMichael and were reassured when he told them that he had never been controlled by the Communists. How ingenuous can a 27-year-old youth leader be?

Yet, in Dr. Roy's book, this made Dr. Littell "an astute anti-Communist." This is typical of Dr. Roy's kind of involved white-wash.

Again, Dr. Roy offers no documentation, even that Dr. Littell opposed McMichael. At the same time, he uses the incident as a basis for attacking the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, despite the obvious *non sequitur*—Mr. Gitlow was analyzing the public contents of the *Social Questions Bulletin*, not Dr. Littell's private correspondence or conversations, if any.

Dr. Roy offered no reason why such "an astute anti-Communist" would require some five years to get wise to the Methodist Federation for Social Action, if indeed that is why Dr. Littell's name no longer appears on the literature of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

In Dr. Roy's book Dr. Littell is "an articulate anti-Communist." We have yet to hear from Dr. Littell any public criticism of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, even at this late date. Perhaps as chairman of the IADI, Dr. Littell will speak out.

Dr. Littell: Rosenberg Clemency Appeal

The *Daily Worker* for January 13, 1953, page 2, carried the name of Franklin H. Littell on a list of clergymen who petitioned for clemency for the atomic spies, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Dr. Littell denies having lent his name to this Communist campaign to save the Rosenbergs, saying that he was out of the country at the time. Since Dr. Littell's father, C. F. Littell, also a clergyman, is listed on a press release of February 13, 1953, among the signers of the Rosenberg Clemency Appeal, this could be the source of the confusion. The elder Rev. Littell affiliated himself with a depressing number of Communist causes during the 1950's.

As a staunch foe of Communism, did Dr. Littell protest in 1953 when the Communists used his name? Documentation, please, Dr. Littell.

Dr. Littell: Other Activities in the 1960's

In January 1963, Dr. Littell participated in the National Conference on Religion and Race which was held in Chicago under the auspices of Protestant,

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Catholic, Christian Orthodox, and Jewish groups. We do not mean in any way to imply that this was a Communist meeting or endeavor. Nevertheless, it was fulsomely reported and exuberantly praised by the Communist *Worker* on February 26, 1963.

As a broad hint to the comrades, the *Worker* said:

The material from the Conference should be widely circulated. Here is a challenge that can and must be met.

When one's objectives—good or bad—parallel those of the Communist movement, the effective foes of Communism see to it that the Communist press cannot capitalize upon their activities. It is not difficult to avoid giving the Communists such an opportunity. Yet, the liberal churchmen rarely do so. Why?

Dr. Littell is a member of the board of the Ecumenical Institute in Chicago. For a description of this organization, see *News & Views*, September 1966, "The Ecumenical Institute: Revolution Center with a Religious Front." Does Dr. Littell share the views of the Rev. Joseph Wesley Mathews as expressed in his article in the March 1966 issue of *Together*?

During October 1966, the executive secretary of the Church League of America travelled and lectured extensively in South Africa under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church. While there, Major Bundy challenged one Dr. J. H. P. Van Rooyen to a debate on the public platform, Dr. Van Rooyen having attacked Major Bundy. This, Dr. Van Rooyen steadfastly refused to do. Finally, Dr. Van Rooyen announced publicly that a clergyman from the United States would debate Major Bundy—none other than Dr. Franklin H. Littell. But Dr. Littell did not appear in South Africa although he assured Van Rooyen he would meet Bundy in debate. Was he refused a visa to enter the country?

Under proper and fair auspices, Major Bundy might be prevailed upon to debate with Dr. Littell in the United States since Littell finds it difficult to go to South Africa.

Arthur Larson

Arthur Larson is one of the members of the sponsoring committee of the IADI. This is the same Arthur Larson who was chairman of the NCCR. (See *News & Views*, March 1965)

The willingness of the other bellwethers on the IADI sponsoring committee to associate themselves with Dr. Larson after his mismanagement of the NCCR is a flaming example of the double standard of ethics used by the liberal community.

If Dr. Larson did not know about the \$60,000 payment to the NCCR from the Democratic National Committee, then who was running the NCCR?

Let any organization even slightly right of center indulge in the deceitful antics of the NCCR, and its leadership would be damned forever by the very group which we are now analyzing. Yet, without any public apology and with complete gall and aplomb, Dr. Larson is accepted as a "prominent leader"—even as one of the Republicans which makes the IADI non-partisan!

This time surely the liberals have misjudged public credibility. This is too much!

Dr. Larson, in keeping with the spirit of his meeting in Leningrad in the summer of 1964 during which he fraternized with well-known leaders of the Communist Party of the USSR, last summer (July 12-26, 1966) attended the World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva, Switzerland. [See *News & Views*, November 1966.] Dr. Larson was one of eight presidents of the Conference which was held under the auspices of the World Council of Churches. Other IADI committee members in attendance were Dr. John C. Bennett and Dr. Ray Gibbons.

The World Council of Churches' 1966 Geneva Conference was dominated by delegates from the Russian Orthodox Church, from the Communist satellite states, from the newly-formed African nations, and from pro-Communist churches in Asia and Latin America. As *Time* magazine (August 5, 1966) said, the majority of delegates were "non-Western."

The resolutions of the World Conference on Church and Society were so "radical" and "revolutionary" as to shock even such un-Right and traditionally liberal voices as the *Christian Century* and *Time* magazine. Many of these radical pronouncements came from Study Section III whose chairman was Dr. John C. Bennett. He had the assistance in his attacks on the United States and his demands for "radical change" of one of the USSR's agents of the dread secret police who is also number two man of the Russian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Nikodim, and of another agent of the Kremlin, Arch-priest Vitaly Borovoi.

The Church League of America would like to know whether or not Arthur Larson was the "former Eisenhower Administration official" who "stalked out of one session," according to *Christianity and Crisis* for September 19, 1966. If so, was that the best he could do when his country was under vitriolic attack?

What about the Conference's letter to Martin Luther King urging Christians "to cast their lot with any form of suffering and need, flinching no longer from antagonism and violence that comes," according to *U.S. News & World Report*, August 1, 1966. Do Drs. Bennett, Gibbons, and Larson consider a call to violence to be a form of "extremism?"

According to the New York *Times* of July 26, 1966, the churchmen at the Geneva Conference called for "Radical" action. Can we expect the IADI to condemn its supporters, Drs. Bennett, Gibbons, and Larson, for indulging in "extreme" statements? Or do the gentlemen wish to disavow the Geneva pronouncements?

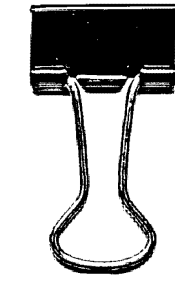
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John C. Bennett

Dr. Bennett's record of supporting persons and causes which have been officially identified with the Communist movement is so well known that his name on the list of IADI committee members makes a farce of the organization's claim to combat "the radical left." Any perusal of Dr. Bennett's books and his writings in *Christianity and Crisis*, shows that, although sometimes claiming not to be a Communist—and we do not think that he is—Dr. Bennett is usually to be found side by side of those among the "radical Left" who are most critical of the United States and most eager to sacrifice our cherished values for a detente with our enemies.

We shall be fascinated to learn which element of the "radical Left" will be found bad enough to arouse Dr. Bennett's ire.

As a beginning, we suggest that Chairman Littell assign Dr. Bennett the task of reporting on the Organization for Black Power. On January 10, 1967, Dr. Bennett is scheduled to be followed on a public platform by Jesse Gray, chairman of the Organization for Black Power.

Both are to address the Institute for Religious and Social Studies to be held at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City. From 11 a.m. to 11:50 a.m. on January 10, 1967, Dr. Bennett is to address the group on "Peace and a Religious Ethic." From 12 noon to 1:00 p.m. on that day Mr. Jesse Gray, identified as director of the Community Council on Housing, will hold forth on the subject, "How Manipulate Symbols to Influence the Power Structure and Effect Change?"

Well, Mr. Gray should know. And this should help Dr. Bennett put into practice the radical revolutionary goals to which he subscribed in Geneva last summer.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover in testimony before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations on February 10, 1966, in discussing "Black Muslim and Black Nationalist Extremist Groups," stated:

As to the black nationalist extremist groups, one such group known as the Organization for Black Power came into existence during the summer of 1965 and is still in its infancy. Its aim is to gain political control of major U.S. cities through mobilization and control of the Negro residents. Individuals connected with its founding represent various facets of the militant Negro extremist community. The chairman of the organization is Jesse Gray. He is a former Harlem organizer for the Communist Party, USA.

Possibly, Mr. Gray will help Dr. Bennett not to "flinch from violence." Does this fit him for membership on the IADI?

Note that IADI's chairman, Dr. Littell, in his opening press conference, according to the *New York Times* of November 19, 1966:

did not identify any organizations on the left except for the Communists, who he said had "fanned the flames of black power" and had sometimes taken over demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

Walter Reuther

The Reuther brand of extremism may be glimpsed by considering his statement during the 1964 election campaign. According to the *New York Times* of July 16, 1964, page 19, he said:

What happened in San Francisco was a tragedy. In this crucial period, the election of Goldwater as President would be a catastrophe. The whole free world alliance would disintegrate for lack of confidence.

Now, of course, Mr. Reuther is unhappy about the current United States hard anti-Communist stance in Vietnam. Particularly, Mr. Reuther is in strenuous opposition to the anti-Communist activities of his labor chieftain, George Meany.

The liberal labor leader, strangely enough, pre-dates some of his clergymen friends in their "God-is-dead" theology. In the 1930's Walter Reuther is alleged to have said:

We do not believe in God but that man is God. (Testimony of Herman Luhrs before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, October 21, 1938, page a1654. Reuther's statement was in answer to a question posed at the end of his lecture before the Young People's Socialist League shortly after his return from Russia.)

We cannot here trace the liberal history of Walter Reuther. (See *News & Views*, August 1964.)

The peculiar significance of his name on the IADI roster lies in the fact that both the NCCR and the IADI are consistent with the famous Victor Reuther memorandum to the Attorney General of the United States. (See Special Report of the Church League of America, September 1963.) In a footnote, the Reuther Memorandum urged that:

Private agencies can do much, too, to identify and expose the radical right. . . . The press, television, church, labor, civic, political and other groups whose constitutional freedom is directly involved must carry the prime burden in this struggle.

Evidently, the IADI is a means of carrying out the Reuther ukase.

James G. Patton

Another strategic member of the IADI team is James G. Patton, president emeritus of the Farmers Union. Although listed by the IADI under "Trade Unions," the designation is not correct. Despite the sound of the name, the National Farmers



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the leading legal minds in the history of Chicago, Frank J. Loesch, who was head of the Chicago Crime Commission, prosecutor of Al Capone, head of the largest law firm in Chicago, president of the Union League Club, general counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad, chairman of the board of the 80-million-dollar Chicago Union Terminal Company, and ruling elder and for seventeen years teacher of the Adult Bible Class of Chicago's famed Fourth Presbyterian Church. Another founder of the Church League of America was the late Henry P. Crowell, chairman of the board of the Quaker Oats Company. These and other giants of business, religion, and philanthropy did not create an organization for kooks or to be smeared by kooks.

The Church League of America is equally and vehemently opposed to Fascism and Communism. Its leaders would never share the same platform with a Jesse Gray or with a Lincoln Rockwell. As long as Dr. Bennett is associated with the IADI, can it say the same?

How can anyone take seriously an organization allegedly created to combat extremism some of whose sponsors are associated with extremists?

Does the IADI condone actual "guilt by association" with the far Left and condemn imaginary "guilt by association" with the far Right?

We differ from the John Birch Society in many respects and feel no obligation to defend it since we have no connection with it. The fact remains, however, that the only governmental organization which has publicly investigated the John Birch Society is the California State Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities which stated in its Report for 1963:

Our investigation and study was requested by the society [John Birch Society], which had been publicly charged with being a secret, fascist, subversive, un-American, anti-Semitic organization. We have not found any of these accusations to be supported by the evidence. (page 62).

In its 1965 Report the California Committee stated:

We do not disavow any of the findings we made in our 1963 report, but we make the foregoing observations for the purpose of bringing that report to date. We are more critical of the Society now than we were then for the reason that it has, in our opinion, merited such criticism by reason of its activities as exemplified by the irresponsible articles by a member of its National Council, the republication of *The Politician*, the inexcusable actions of its minority of irresponsible members, and dangerous increase of anti-Semitism among a minority of the membership. We again emphasize that the F.B.I. has not seen fit to undertake an investigation of the Society because it only investigates organizations suspected of being subversive, and that even the Society's most outspoken critics, H. A. and Bonaro Overstreet, agree with the conclusion that the John Birch Society is not a subversive organization. (page 174)

Union is not a trade union. The full name of the organization is Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, and it is a cooperative.

From its beginnings in Texas in 1902, the Farmers Union has been an extremely radical left-wing organization. On the floor of the Senate on September 7, 1950, the late Senator Styles Bridges cited chapter and verse. The organization has not changed except that it has become more daring and more successful in putting its radical program into operation, in large part by virtue of its effective lobbying techniques on Capitol Hill. There is no doubt that the Farmers Union has been infiltrated with Communists and that its long-time president, James Patton, has in many ways aided the Communist movement. He is not a CP member.

Mr. Patton is also one of the founding sponsors of the Public Affairs Institute, the shadowy organization behind the NCCR. The PAI, too, has been infiltrated by Communists.

IADI Sponsoring Committee

We have described only a small number of the members of the IADI sponsoring committee. It is a varied group of the young and the old; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews; mostly men; many nationally prominent, some unknown except in their local communities; mostly white; mostly financially successful.

Some of these varied window-dressers, we venture to guess, do not know much about the Left or the Right, in any detail. Others like Professor Daniel Bell are very sophisticated in the field. Others like Louis Untermeyer, a distinguished and elderly poet, have long records of fellow traveling, for whatever reason. Others are innocent of such affiliations.

We do not presume to judge as individuals, and we would not be discussing this newly formed group were it not for the potential damage it can be put to by unscrupulous hands, as was the NCCR.

To be specific, both the NCCR and already the IADI have attempted to smear the Church League of America and other conservative groups as Radical Right-wing "extremist" while, at the same time, ignoring genuine radical groups of the old and new Left, including Communist fronts. Let us look at these two propositions more closely.

The Church League of America and the John Birch Society

We categorically deny any "interlocking directorate" with the John Birch Society and challenge the IADI to show any documentation that Church League directors are directors or officers of the John Birch Society.

The fact of the matter is that the Church League of America was founded in the year 1937, some twenty plus years before the John Birch Society was organized.

The Church League of America was founded by distinguished Americans in business, industry, the law and their respective churches. Among them was one of

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Both the 1963 and 1965 California Committee Reports inveigh against "a fringe of unstable, chauvinist people who are prone to accept as accurate the most irresponsible charges of Communist activity. This is the sort of person who is quick to accuse an innocent liberal of being a Communist, and of forever damning anyone who was trapped into joining a Communist front group." We agree, and we have consistently followed the practice of presenting the record so that the reader may make his own judgments.

IADI and Communist Fronts

Although the stated purpose of the IADI is to combat "extremism" of the Right and the Left, we predict that the "Radical Left" will not be hurt by the IADI.

The IADI's gimmick is to give just enough lip-service to combatting the far-far-far Left to confuse the gullible. As we have seen, Dr. Littell's expertise in anti-Communism bears little relation to fighting effectively the influence of Communist fronts.

For many years, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the F.B.I., has stressed the importance of those outside of the membership of the Communist Party who are ready, willing, and able to do the Party's work. In this group, Mr. Hoover has said, lies the greatest menace of Communism, for these are the people who infiltrate various spheres of American life and cloak their work with the cloak of respectability.

On February 10, 1966, Mr. Hoover testified before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, and his statement included the following warning:

COMMUNIST FRONT & COMMUNIST-INFILTRATED ORGANIZATIONS

In furthering the aims and objectives of the international Communist conspiracy, the Communist Party, U.S.A. creates and utilizes Communist front organizations. In this manner the party attempts to conceal and disguise its activities and to lend a semblance of respectability to its operations. Through these fronts, the party conducts pressure and propaganda campaigns, disseminates Communist literature and propaganda, raises funds, recruits new members and insidiously exploits the masses and public opinion to further its revolutionary aims and purposes.

The party, in supplementing its program of deceit carried on through its front groups and to further disguise its activities, continues to urge its members to join and infiltrate legitimate nonsubversive organizations. The objectives of the party members are to work into or work within the framework of these legitimate groups in an attempt to control or influence the policies of such groups, or the thinking of their members, without exposing the party's interest in the groups.

Some of the main spheres of activity in which the party is interested relate to peace, youth, Negro, political, trade union and disarmament matters, and attacking



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U.S. policy relative to Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. (page 250)

Speaking in his testimony on February 10, 1966, about the November 27, 1965, march on Washington for peace in Vietnam which was sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Mr. Hoover said:

As in the past, Communist Party members, including several national functionaries, actively participated in this march. Literature was distributed by the Communist Party and other subversive organizations and Vietcong flags were displayed by some participants.

Among the current sponsors of SANE are the following members of the IADI sponsoring committee: Walter Reuther, Dore Schary, and Louis Untermeyer. So what will the IADI have to say about SANE? We wait with unabated breath, and we predict that IADI will say nothing.

We also await with ennui what IADI will have to say about the New Left (in depth), the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Students for a Democratic Society, SNCC, and CORE, to name just a few left-wing organizations. One may safely predict that the IADI will tread daintily if at all in such rich fields.

The IADI bull-dozer is reserved for the "Radical Right" and such respectable conservative organizations as the Church League of America.

By their "fruits" and "friends" ye shall judge them.

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1330 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 Vol. 1, No. 3, MAY, 1967

Oh, How We Hope You Liked the Samples!

You must be a leader in your community or in your organization. Otherwise you would not have received the first issues of HOMEFRONT. To boost IAD off the launching pad, we compiled a nationwide list of 30,000 leadership persons whom we hoped would be concerned about extremism.

As a result of the free samples, already several thousand circulation for IAD's newsletter is assured. Many have already subscribed, and we have received a lot of \$5 and \$10

contributions, and also some fifties and hundreds and even one for a thousand dollars.

Some organizations have bought bulk subscriptions to distribute to their leadership, and others have purchased subscriptions so we can mail to their leaders from Washington. Some groups will imprint their own names on the back.

* * *

NOW'S THE TIME WE MUST CONVERT. We'll be sending HOMEFRONT to those who contribute \$5 or more to IAD. We cannot afford to do it any other way. Like many other organizations on the side of good and decency and understanding, we have far more call for our educational services than we have staff or funds for providing them.

From the beginning, IAD's chairman, Dr. Franklin H. Littell, and other members of our distinguished Sponsoring Committee were convinced that America was ripe for IAD's program. The response to HOMEFRONT provides solid evidence they were right.

Hundreds of individuals have volunteered their help, and dozens of grass roots committees to protect democratic processes have emerged or are being formed. All over America, IAD educational materials are being used to help equip citizens to stand up for our democratic way of life.

* * *

SOME WRITE LETTERS-TO-THE-EDITOR and others dial a minute of truth into call-in radio programs. Some expose heavily-financed efforts to control the direction of a community's affairs.

When you support IAD, you are helping the hundreds of grass roots heroes who look to the Institute for the information they need. These are the heroes doing something about the heavily-financed harangues of the John Birch type Far Right, and exposing the Far Left's incessant search for a tinder box to ignite.

And reading all the information in HOMEFRONT may help equip you to be one of those heroes, yourself.

We Draw Hargis, McIntire Into WEEKLY CRUSADER

Vol. 7, No. 19 March 24, 1967

THE WEEKLY CRUSADER is published weekly by Christian Crusade, 2808 S. Sheridan, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 74102. Editor: Dr. Billy James Hargis. Managing Editor: John Williams. Subscription Rate: \$10.00 annually. Second-Class Postage Paid at Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Additional copies of THE WEEKLY CRUSADER are available at 25¢ each, 12 for \$2.00, 50 for \$5.00. For larger quantities, write for special discount prices. Order from Christian Crusade, P. O. Box 977, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74102.



THE INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

On November 18, 1966, the creation of a new organization to oppose "the increased tempo of extremist activity" in the United States was announced. The Institute for

Good evidence of IAD's impact lies in the response of the big money men of Radical Right radio. Rev. Dr. B. J. Hargis had our name hand-lettered in his "Crusader" attack while Rev. Dr. Carl McIntire whacked IAD in his "Christian Beacon," and in his anti-Fairness Doctrine rally. (Pg. 6)



Lightning Strikes Many Times

IAD has been the lightning rod for attacks by Radical Right "parsons" including Hargis, McIntire, Rev. Dr. William Steuart McBirnie, Rev. Dr. Bob Wells, Major Bundy's "Church League of America," Dr. Fred Schwarz's "Chris-

tian Anti-Communism Crusade," Richard Cotten, etc.

We've also been whacked by the West Coast Communist paper, "People's World." With all that attention, IAD must be on target.

STAND UP
FOR
DEMOCRACY
Become an
associate
member of
IAD.

THIS ISSUE OF NEWS & VIEWS PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA AS AN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

EXTRA COPIES AVAILABLE

For Church League Members: 25c each; \$20.00 per 100
For Non-Members : 35c each; \$30.00 per 100

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Published Monthly by the National Laymen's Council of the Church League of America, 422 North Prospect Street, Wheaton, Illinois. A Non-Profit Organization, Editor: Edgar C. Bundy. Founded in 1937, Chicago, Illinois.

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APR 4 1969

Democracy, Inc.

1330 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C. 20005

Sec 4 - SPECIAL REPORT #4

Feb-Mar., 1969

ICAN DEMOCRACY (hereafter IAD) was announced in late 1966 by Dr. Franklin H. Littell and operates as "a private citizens organization to protect our democratic institutions by public exposure and attack of the extremes, right and left." [IAD promotional flyer] and IAD's executive director, Charles R. Baker, most of IAD's sponsors [IAD ltrhd., 12/68] have been with the organization from the



WANTED FOR TREASON

THIS MAN is wanted for treasonous activities against the United States:

1. Betraying the Constitution (which he swore to uphold): He is turning the sovereignty of the U.S. over to the communist controlled United Nations. He is betraying our friends (Cuba, Katanga, Portugal) and befriending our enemies (Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland).
2. He has been WRONG on innumerable issues affecting the security of the U.S. (United Nations, Berlin wall, Missile removal, Cuba, Wheat deals, Test Ban Treaty, etc.).

3. He has been lax in enforcing Communist Registration laws.
4. He has given support and encouragement to the Communist inspired racial riots.
5. He has illegally invaded a sovereign State with federal troops.
6. He has consistently appointed Anti-Christians to Federal office: Upholds the Supreme Court in its Anti-Christian rulings. Aliens and known Communists abound in Federal offices.
7. He has been caught in fantastic LIES to the American people (including personal ones like his previous marriage and divorce).

This handbill was passed out on the streets of Dallas the morning of the day President John F. Kennedy was assassinated.

Wallaces, Carmichael, and Hot Summer Months

Federal District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., didn't name names, but it was quite clear that he meant Gov. Lurleen Wallace and Stokely Carmichael when he warned newly-naturalized citizens at Montgomery that "they equally advocate anarchy."

Judge Johnson equated the Governor's televised defiance of school desegregation orders with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leader's defiant speech to a group of Birmingham students.

Johnson said it is wrong for those in responsible positions "to cry 'to hell with the laws of the United States.'"

* * *

Thoughtful Cleveland residents wish extremists of all stripes would stay away this year. While the city has been tagged as the "one most likely to erupt," a great deal of behind-the-scenes work is going on to prevent that.

When Alabama ex-Gov. George Wallace delivered the same speech that wowed a select Pittsburgh audience to Cleveland's City Club audience recently, he was greeted by polite silence. He was later cautioned to avoid "political comment" in an

The impending arrival of President Kennedy stimulated a great deal of extremist activity in Dallas. One group sought the spotlight by producing the infamous "Welcome Mr. Kennedy, to Dallas..." ad and placing it in the Dallas Morning News on Nov. 22, 1963. John Birch coordinator, Joseph P. Grinnan helped raise the money for it, according to the Warren Report.

Another contestant for the most "appropriate" greeting for the Chief Executive was Robert Surrey, 38-year old printing salesman and business partner of General Walker in an enterprise called American Eagle Publishing Co. The Warren Report tells how Surrey had this unsigned leaflet printed for \$60. It was circulated on the streets of Dallas that fatal morning. Here is the leaflet William Manchester discusses on page 64 of *Death Of A President*.

This is the extremist mind at work.

← This Kind of
Tactic Needs
Exposure-
Here's How
You Can Help →

appearance before small school audiences in Indiana and New Hampshire.

Key John Birch Society people are playing leading roles in Wallace's third party movement. Selma ex-Sheriff Jim Clark, stalwart of the Birch lecture circuit, is national vice chairman of the Wallace Committee.

* * *

The Birch Society spends an enormous amount of money promoting white backlash. The expensive, unsigned films, *Anarchy U.S.A.*, *Show Biz in the Streets* and *Civil Riots* are part of the promotion. A bevy of JBS speakers criss cross the nation spreading the JBS version of the "truth" about civil rights. Three of the most active are Sheriff Clark, Julia Brown and Lola Belle Holmes.

At a press conference in Idaho Falls, April 14th, JBS Founder Robert Welch told reporters, "Lola Belle Holmes works for us full time. Lola Belle Holmes is one of about 200 people in our Speakers Bureau of whom about 50 are active. She is one of about eight Negroes on our Speakers Bureau of whom about three or four are working full time."

It's Welch slips like this which hurt his followers. Now Idaho knows, and so do the rest of us.

70 Prominent Americans Now Sponsors

You are in distinguished company when you become an associate of IAD. The 70 prominent citizens on our growing Sponsoring Committee symbolize a broad, responsible cross-section of American life.

IAD numbers many prominent Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Unitarian-Universalist leaders among its Sponsors. All Sponsors serve as individuals, but they include the presidents and other top officials of many significant public service organizations.

Prominent public servants, senators and top officials from both major parties, liberals and conservatives, businessmen and trade union leaders, artists, scholars, editors, educators are all here.

They disagree on many things, but are united in their devotion to the democratic ideal. All want an America where everyone feels free to speak his mind. In a sense, that is what IAD is all about.



Miss Dorothy I. Height
National President
National Council of
Negro Women, Inc.



Mrs. Lloyd J. Marti
President
National Board of the
YWCA



Mrs. Esther Peterson
Assistant Secretary of
Labor



Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel
Associate General
Secretary for
Christian Unity
National Council of
Churches

WE'RE PROUD TO ANNOUNCE that today is ladies' day. "Too few women on IAD's Sponsoring Committee," some critics said, noting that women do the lion's (or is it lioness's) share of such work. We agree, and we think the above new Sponsors reflect our position on the matter.

Keep in the Know- Help IAD Grow Clip and Mail

Institute for American Democracy
1330 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Your check helps IAD generate the educational program so necessary to protect the great American middle ground from those of the Far Left and Far Right who would destroy our faith in democracy.

Dr. Littell:

You can count on me as a—

- ☐ \$5 Associate (and get *Homefront* each month)
☐ \$10 Contributor (*Homefront*)
☐ \$25 Sustaining Associate (*Homefront* and special reports)
☐ \$100 a Donor (*Homefront* and special reports)
☐ \$1,000 Honorary Member (*Homefront* and special reports)
☐ My check or money order is enclosed; ☐ Bill me

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Mailing Address

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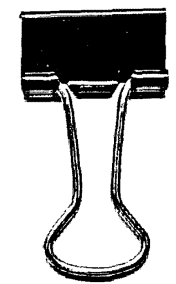
STAND UP
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Become an
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husetts Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C. 20005 Feb-Mar., 1969

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Dr. Franklin H. Littell and operates as "a private citizens
o protect our democratic institutions by public exposure and
ult of the extremes, right and left." [IAD promotional fly-



Who's Who on Far Right

Perhaps the most incredible part of the Radical Right is its ability to provide employment for hundreds of persons directly or indirectly involved in spreading the various shades of the propaganda line.

There are literally hundreds of Far Right organizations ranging in size from complex operations like the John Birch Society (about 80,000 members and 250 staffers) and the Billy James Hargis promotional team to one-man proprietorships like Frank Capell's *Herald of Freedom* (circulation 4,200 according to postal statements).

Some of the groups with the fanciest names and biggest income are essentially committees of individuals appearing in many Radical Right operations, plus a professional staff. Others are elaborate enterprises producing books, leaflets, film strips and movies, radio shows and running colleges and "anti-communist schools."

Some of the names are holdovers from a bygone era. Gerald L. K. Smith and his Christian Nationalist Crusade (publication "The Cross and the Flag", circulation 28,758, 1966 income \$339,846) are still around, for example, and in 1966 the operation grossed \$325,000 according to public forms. Conde McGinley's publication "Common Sense" is still operated by the family (circulation 15,000) but for the most part the Big Names of the Radical Right gained prominence within the last decade and the competition for the spotlight (and the Radical Right dollar) is fierce.

Scores of publications and hundreds of books and pamphlets clamor for circulation, and scores of Radical Right radio personalities log some 10,000 broadcasts a week, all seeking a wider audience and most of them winding up each broadcast with a fund appeal.

While the Birch Society sets the themes and the tone for much of this outpouring, whoever develops an argument and an approach which "gets the audience" is pretty likely to find it copied by others.

The True Believers of the Radical Right inhabit their own hurly burly world of many voices saying essentially the same things. The primary targets are faith in the American democratic system and the institutions having a significant impact on the attitudes of the American people. The voices are shrill, and the organism seems to yearn for power. In the process of clamoring for it, the Far Out Right generated and spent about \$30,000,000 last year. Hence a need for I.A.D. —C.R.B.

ORGANIZATION	Estimated MEMBERSHIP	PUBLICATION	CIRCULATION	Est. RADIO-TV OUTLETS	Est. 1965 INCOME
John Birch Society, (80,000)	American Opinion	43,262 (1)	176 (2)	\$4,089,000***
20th Century Reformation Hour (McIntire)	Christian Beacon	84,700	635	3,040,000**
Christian Crusade (Billy James Hargis)	..	Christian Crusade	71,500	211	1,106,900*
Lifeline (Munn-H. L. Hunt)	Freedom Talks	9,730	377	951,600**
Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (Fred Schwarz)	CACC Newsletter	(3)		604,000*
Dean Manion Forum	Manion Forum News	(3)	200 radio, 12 TV	782,500**
Dan Smoot Report	Dan Smoot Report	33,178	64 radio, 25 TV	501,400***
Liberty Lobby	Liberty Letter	174,295		434,200****
Young Americans for Freedom	New Guard	23,200		469,600**
Conservative Society of America (Courtney)	Independent American	24,200	12	310,000**
Church League of America (Major Bundy)	News & Views	(3)	(varies)	237,200*
Harding College's National Education Program	National Program Letter	50,000		224,700*
America's Future (R. K. Scott)	America's Future	7,400	400	244,800*

Among many others following McIntire-Hargis formula:

Richard Cotten	Conservative Viewpoint	5,000	25	
Wm. Steuart McBirnie	Voice of Americanism		22	
C. W. Burpo	Tracts only		23	
Howard Kershner	Christian Economics	215,000	300	233,542 (4)

Among primarily racist extremist groups:

Ku Klux Klan, 14,000 (5)	The Councilor (LA.)	73,140		
White Citizens Council	Muhammad Speaks	(3)		
Black Muslims, (6)				
Minute Men, (Now underground. Once claimed 25,000 members. Likely less than a 10th of that.)				
American Nazi Party, 50 (Perhaps fewer. Handful of Rockwell followers.)				

* From publicly available IRS forms. 1966 figures not yet available.
** Group Research, Inc., projection.
*** May 1966, JBS Bulletin.
**** Report filed with Clerk of House of Representatives.
(1) Also circulates JBS Bulletin and Weekly Review of the News.
(2) Dean Manion and Tom Anderson also have radio programs. Both are members of the JBS council. Kent Courtney is also JBS member. Close ties between JBS and Hargis, Scott, Bundy, etc.
(3) Circulation figures not available.
(4) 1964 IRS figure for Foundation only. Kershner's "Christian Economics" and his radio program "Howard Kershner's Commentary" are incorporated separately. While his tabloid is recommended by the Birch Society and carries some JBS writers, Kershner's approach is more moderate than that of the JBS and he is less critical of the National Council of Churches than most of the "preachers" in the Hargis-McIntire mold.
(5) FBI membership estimate for 1967. Covers 14 Klan type organizations.
(6) No membership figures available.

Who's Who on Far Left



ORGANIZATION	Estimated MEMBERSHIP	PUBLICATION	Estimated CIRCULATION	Est. 1966 INCOME
Communist Party, USA	.....12,000*	The Worker	16,000	\$148,000
W.E.B. duBois Clubs	.....2,500*	People's World	5,000	
Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyite)	.....1,000	Insurgent	unknown	12,000
Progressive Labor Movement (Maoist)	.....1,200**	The Militant	2,000	unknown
Spartacist (Trotskyite)	.....under 500	Progressive Labor	minimal	unknown
Workers World Party	.....1,000	Spartacist	minimal	unknown
Youth Against War and Fascism***	.....Unknown	Workers World	unknown	unknown
Young Socialist Alliance (Trotskyite)	.....1,000	The Partisan	minimal	unknown
		The Young Socialist		unknown

* J. Edgar Hoover in testimony for the FBI before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, 2/10/66.
** Thomas R. Brooks, New York Times, 4/24/65.
*** Youth Arm of Workers World Party.

"The extreme Left today is made up of those who are to the left—or geographically speaking to the east—of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.," freelancer Thomas R. Brooks wrote in the New York Times Magazine, April 25, 1965.

"Their number remains so far small—only about 2,500 to 3,000 altogether—and their revival would be of little significance were it not for the potential damage their presence—and encouragement of extremist demonstrations for demonstration's sake—could bring to the civil-rights movement, as well as the peace movement and student groups," Brooks concludes.

An updated, reliable article on the status of the Far Left a year later is hard to come by. But IAD keeps looking, and may produce one. This item has no such pretention.

While the Far Right keeps flailing away at the Communist Party, a featured article in the May 2nd edition of the sedate *Look Magazine* concluded that those interested in a dialogue with the Communists find that, "The United States has virtually no Communists worth talking to."

THIS DOESN'T MEAN THE FAR LEFT IS NO THREAT. Far from it. The Progressive Labor Movement, or the West Coast Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party, or the Harlem Defensive Council, or Youth Against War and Fascism, or the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life have the potential for striking the spark wherever combustible ferment exists. So do some other Far Left groups.

While some Marxists have penetrated the liberal student groups, like Students for a Democratic Society, SDS, which counts 7,000 members in 125 autonomous chapters, has no such overtones on many campuses.

Both the Far Right and the Far Left are certain to continue efforts to exploit our national disagreements on both Civil Rights matters and our national stance on Viet Nam. But they will be mingling with responsible Americans who have fervent—though contrasting—beliefs on these issues.

Today, many concerned Americans are apprehensive about the New Left, and properly so. Perhaps it is symbolized by Bettina Aptheker, 21-year old daughter of Herbert Aptheker, Communist theoretician and director of the Institute of Marxist Studies, and Fred Jerome, who earned a Phi Beta Kappa key before graduating from CCNY in 1960. His father is V. J. Jerome, for many years viewed as a Communist intellectual.

Both are activists where their fathers were not. Miss Aptheker, a member of the du Bois Club, is one of the 300 or so militants attracting all the attention at Berkeley. Jerome cranks out the fiery PLM publications. Miss Aptheker is in San Francisco and young Jerome in New York, the two chief cities where New Left activity can be found. It's hard to forecast what either is up to, and whether anybody will be paying any attention, even next year.

CLEARLY THE FAR LEFT, old and new, lacks funds, and without funds it is difficult to maintain organizational discipline. However fragmented, the Left can develop a sense of unity and a sense of direction, but so long as the young radicals are screaming in a relatively empty room, their ability to do damage will be limited.

The professional anti-Communists who daily view with alarm a Communist threat they never define, probably drive more dissidents into the room.

Clearly needed is a reasoned opposition to the Communist ideology and a responsible exposure of Far left tactics. Those professional "anti-Communists" who get recruits and funds by rallying folks against the "menace" can provide neither. Thus IAD strives to do the job they claim to do. —C.R.B.

A Welch Squelch in Radical Right's Future?

Speaking in Dallas, JBS Founder Robert Welch told an audience of 1,000 that Communist government leaders in both the United States and Soviet Union "are running the show and pulling the strings to convert the Viet Nam affair into a full-scale third world war."

In Atlanta, where he drew twice as many customers (at \$2 a ticket), he continued his assault on the integrity of the U. S. government and asserted America could win in Viet Nam "in three months" if the Administration really wanted to do so.

Several thousand turned out for his speech in Salt Lake City where he continued to pour it on LBJ, and he pulled 800 in Idaho Falls, Idaho, where he repeated his charge that it is a "phony war."

But reports reaching IAD from within the Birch Society indicate that even here, while some have been tugging for a tougher line, others think the current Welch campaign to convince America that "bi-partisan treason (is) rampant everywhere" may be too strong.

The Welch whistle-stop tour takes on some of the trappings of a presidential campaign, but he is encountering some opposition. He got cheers at Yakima, Wash., but, at Idaho Falls, College of Idaho students staged a silent protest demonstration, carrying signs like "We Have Nothing To Fear But Welch."

In Chicago, known Birchers circulated a petition calling for an end to trade with Soviet Russia, but it was not the Prescribed JBS Petition.

Welch, in rushing around the country, may be getting too far in front for even his pack.

McIntire Fires 1st Shot

About the time HOMEFRONT is in the mail, a Senate subcommittee which has completed its survey of Radical Right broadcasting may be ready to announce the result.

Probably this will touch off demands for more utilization of the FCC's Fairness Doctrine. IAD, which has been blazing a Fairness Doctrine trail, by demanding and getting time to reply to personal attacks, and getting mention for this in "Broadcasting Magazine" and "TV Guide," will continue to press for Fairness Doctrine answer time if more air attacks on IAD are made.

The FCC Fairness Doctrine is based on the concept that the air channels are a utility, and the audience has a right to exposure to contrasting viewpoints. When "personal attacks" occur, the station carrying them must inform the group or individual involved and offer reply time.

That has not been happening, but now it is, occasionally. Balanced programming and the right of the attacked to reply poses a clear threat to the continued rise of McIntire's radio show—the "20th Century Reformation Hour" (635 stations—\$3 million gross).

McIntire, expelled by the Presbyterian Church three decades ago, was dubbed "The Sunday Puncher" by "Greater Philadelphia Magazine." He showed why by staging an "American Council of Churches" rally at Constitution Hall May 8th to demand that Congress investigate the FCC and use of the Fairness Doctrine to shut off "preaching of the gospel."

No doubt about it. He got there first.

Dr. Littell Blisters Birch Petition Drive

The John Birch Society is launching a "subversive campaign" to convince Americans that traitors are running the U. S. war effort in Viet Nam, IAD's chairman, Dr. Franklin Littell, told ministers of the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches in a recent major address before that group.

Littell, who is president of Iowa Wesleyan College, warned that subversive sentiments are being peddled by the Birchers as a part of their efforts to launch "history's biggest plea by petition" to stop all trade with the Soviet Bloc.

Drawing Littell's ire was the petition's implication that "traitors are running the show," and accompanying Welch position papers claiming all Administrations from Eisenhower's through Johnson's are "part of a conspiracy to sacrifice American GIs."

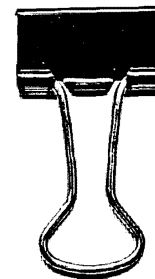
"Any unstable person falling for phony Birch propaganda that traitors are now at the helm in Washington will be tempted to use violence to oust national leaders," he warned.

He asserted that both the Far Left and Far Right are attempting to make capital of America's anxieties over Viet Nam. "Both try to destroy the honest discussion which is the life blood of our decision-making process," he said.



Available
From
IAD

Bibliography of educational materials including books, film, radio	FREE with stamped, self-addressed envelope.
How To Combat Air Pollution (Using the FCC Fairness Doctrine)	IAD's First Manual. \$1.
The Sunday Puncher. (Reprint of Philadelphia Mag. McIntire Profile)	25 cents.
Doomsday Merchant. (Reprint of Sat. Eve. Post. Hargis Profile)	25 cents.
HOMEFRONT, Vol. I, No. 1	\$12 a hundred.
Truth About JBS "Truth & Petition Campaign." IAD Memo	\$12 a hundred.



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Signs of Extremism

1—Extremists live in "closed rooms."

They won't really listen if you argue with them.

2—They are "faceless."

They prefer to be a part of the group. Most don't want their secret roles exposed.

3—All Evil flows from a "Conspiracy."

They have the most incredibly "simple" explanation for complex events. That darned "conspiracy!"

4—They are "Ideologues."

Pragmatic solutions to problems are never considered. Your problem had darned well better fit their solution.

5—They are fighting a "Holy War."

They are so sure they are right that their ends justify their sometimes sinister means.

6—They rewrite history & news.

Everything must fit into their pattern. Das Kapital and Mein Kampf are prime examples.

7—They must control or discredit.

You can't have "outside" groups producing evidence which refutes their "true" facts.

8—They are haters, not lovers.

They are not really "for" much of anything, but they "know" what is "wrong."

10—They accept discipline.

None of this democracy stuff. You get the true message from Mecca.

11—They must change systems.

Never mind making adjustments; out with the old and in with the new.

12—Their movement yearns for power.

It shows a group-sense of self-interest.

13—They are incredibly gullible.

They believe their leader, not their eyes, ears or noses.

ARE THESE EXTREMISTS OF THE FAR LEFT OR FAR RIGHT? The answer: Both. At both extremes, people act the same. It isn't so much what they believe as how they believe it.



Reprinted from the Madison, Wisconsin, Capital Times

They're Defending Democracy

MRS. ROBERT SHAFER, member of the Memphis League of Women Voters. She is the originator of the city's Great Decisions discussion series. John Salter, a professed member of the Birch Society, and Zach Hill, WREC radio executive, took in a recent meeting, at which a member of the Foreign Policy Association spoke. Salter got to his feet and charged, "This (FPA) stuff reeks of treason," adding that, "Anyone who abets them (FPA) is a traitor." Mrs. Shafer replied that, "Anyone who would try to stifle free thought and discussion is an enemy of that, "Anyone who would try to stifle free thought and discussion is an enemy of the American way of life." Hill then led the hissing when another speaker defended FPA. Mrs. Shafer and others came to his defense. Mrs. Shafer and others were subjected to personal insults. Unpleasant? Yup! Important that they stood their ground? Absolutely!

THE KANSAS CITY STAR. It carried a story pointing out that 13 members of the John Birch Society have formed the "Catholic Committee for Anti-Communist Education," which is beaming JBS films and materials of local Catholic leaders.

MARILYN BAKER, San Leandro, Calif., Morning News reporter. Her persistent questioning finally produced evidence that the "Castro Valley Committee for Better Schools" and the "Alameda County Committee to Support Your Local Police" were both JBS fronts.

MRS. MABEL E. RUPE, Tacoma, Wash. At 74, she's a one-woman committee distributing HOMEFRONT to "folks who should know about IAD," monitoring local radio and using the telephone to report her very clear views on what is wrong with the extremist propaganda effort.

ROBERT SESSIONS, San Diego. He has risked his own business to push ahead with the formation of the statewide California Council for Public Responsibility; has already appeared on many radio and TB programs; has Orange County as his first target.

HERBERT A. PHILBRICK
Box 1 Folder
Subject File

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From the October 67 issue of Housefront, published by
 Justitute for American Demo-
 cracy.



Penny's Thoughts

Local Imprint

Triple-threat Herbert Philbrick signs the Constructive Action fund appeals "lectures" at Fred Schwarz' "Anti-Communism schools" and has announced he now heads the U. S. Anti-Communist Congress, which, like YAF, has a suite at 1221 Mass. Ave., N.W., one block from the IAD office.

REMEMBER, the name of the TV series based on the Philbrick book was, "I Led Three Lives." Let's see now -- 1—Advertising man; 2—FBI informer; 3—Professional Anti-Communist.

IN OKLAHOMA CITY, law officers recently capped a long undercover investigation with a raid on what is believed to be a Minute Man arms cache. Involved are about \$25,000 worth of weapons including machine guns. As we went to press, seven had been arrested. . . . In Philadelphia, police confiscated enough potassium cyanide "to kill thousands of human beings," in what was alleged to be a part of a Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) plot to kill police. At press time, warrants had been issued for young super Black Power nationalists . . . Now if we could just find an island and get RAM, the Klan and the Minute men — together.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, sometimes called "too conservative" in the press, was called "a Marxist-oriented educational mafia" on a recent JBS "Let-Freedom-Ring" message. And the Birchers protest when LFR is called "Dial-a-Smear."

WANT TO FORM A COMMUNITY GROUP to advance and defend the democratic process? Many do. Some write offering to help form such groups. Some write offering to be a part of such groups. Quite a number of groups are being formed because IAD has helped concerned citizens get together.

WHAT ABOUT A FORUM? There will be several workshops on extremism in the months to come, including one for suburban Chicago ministers only, which will be chaired by Dr. Littell.

AND IN CHICAGO, a call-in radio program was used by "Concerned Catholic Parents" to launch the drive against the "Chicago Catechism," written by two Chicago priests.

CCP asked that the FBI investigate the text . . . turned out Dr. Martin Luther King was portrayed as a good man and integration was pictured as Christian.

CCP turns out to be Birch Society dominated and was exposed as such in the Chicago Tribune.



"I'll tell you why they keep losing. They keep losing. because a lot of leftwing, bleeding-heart professors have brainwashed all the fight out of them." from the New Yorker

IAD

Institute for American Democracy, Inc.
 1330 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20005

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Penny's Thoughts

Local Imprint

UPWARD MOBILE—Glenn Green, who started with Harding College's National Education Program (NEP), became a fulltime employee of the Birch Society, and then the National Right-to-Work Committee, has returned to Harding as Executive Veep of the super-super "conservative" NEP.



Reprinted from VOOMERANG

EXTREMISM IS A CONTAGIOUS DISEASE. Everyone who applauds when an extremist grinds his particular ax runs a chance of catching his virus. The wealthy man who lauds Liberty Lobby's opposition to the graduated income tax can wind up swallowing the whole extremist package....Bigots are naturally attracted to both the Far Left and Far Right because they find an emotional excuse for their fears.

THE HIT OF THE "SHOW" at the Univ. of Oklahoma Human Relations Center's recent 3-day institute on "extremism" was the effort by five Birch Society members to disrupt the first session. After Columbia University's Dr. Alan Westin described Birchtype behavior patterns, the Birchers, following the techniques outlined on Page 107 of Welch's Blue Book, tried to harass Dr. Westin before a fascinated audience of Ph.D.'s, top clergymen, educators and others attuned to the case study method of research. Besides Westin and fine OU faculty members, the "experts" at the session included Milton Ellerin, Director of Fact Finding for the American Jewish Committee, and Charles R. Baker, IAD's executive director. The latter also conducted a one-day seminar for Oklahoma clergymen.

THE CHICAGO ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OFFICE hosted a one-day seminar on extremism for new grass roots committees in Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana, in cooperation with the well-established Chicago Committee for Advancing the Democratic Process and IAD.

THE VOOMERANG, official publication of VOOM (Veterans Opposed to Obnoxious Movements) has lowered its voom on Dr. Fred Schwarz, the Australian physician who runs the "anti-communist" schools in America. Editor B. F. Norberg of Chariton, Iowa, who may be VOOM's only member, calls upon the Aussie psychiatrist to quit scaring U.S. citizens and "give your own blinkin' country from Communism, Kangaroos or whatever else threatens it." Title of the article is "Profits in Paranoia."

The Pastors Write

A California pastor is preparing an analysis on the JBS film, "Show Biz in the Streets."

Many Pennsylvania clergymen turned out for seminars on extremism.

Literally hundreds of clergymen of all faiths have written IAD offering help, or asking for needed information.

We get a lot of such evidence showing that clergymen have the courage of their convictions, and, concerned about extremism, are alerting their congregations and their communities to this threat.

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Institute for American Democracy, Inc. Sec 4 - SPECIAL REPORT #4
Suite 101, 1330 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C. 20005 Feb-Mar., 1969

The INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (hereafter IAD) was announced in late 1966 under chairmanship of Dr. Franklin H. Littell and operates as "a private citizens organization working to protect our democratic institutions by public exposure and education from the assault of the extremes, right and left." [IAD promotional flyer, 5/68.] Like Dr. Littell and IAD's executive director, Charles R. Baker, most of IAD's sponsors [IAD ltrhd., 12/68] have been with the organization from the beginning. Contributions to IAD are tax deductible.

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Rev. Dr. Edwin H. Tuller

While IAD expresses concern for extremism of both Left and Right, the overwhelming emphasis in IAD materials and program activities has been on exposing groups and individuals of the Right where, in the words of Dr. Littell, groups like "LIBERTY LOBBY, AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION, the CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA and a dozen other radical right groups" are dominated through "an interlocking directorate" by the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY and engaged in "the biggest effort to brainwash a substantial portion of a population since Hitler's backers helped pave that paranoid's path to power with an aggressive propaganda campaign." [NY Times, 11/19/66, capitalization added; cf. p 30.] Left wing groups and individuals are rarely touched.

This is not surprising. IAD was established to continue the work of a defunct group, the NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY, which came into being during the 1964 presidential campaign and disappeared almost immediately thereafter. Despite similar pretensions to objectivity, NCCR concentrated on discrediting forces on the Right supporting the Republican candidate. NCCR provided IAD with 54% of IAD's original sponsors, including former NCCR chairman, Dr. Arthur Larson, prominent Republican who in 1964 "bolted his party and worked on behalf of Johnson's candidacy." [T. C. Sorensen, *The Word War*, Harper & Row, 1968; ftn., p 99, underlining added.] NCCR's activity was backstopped primarily by information supplied by GROUP RESEARCH, INC., a D.C.-based operation established with the help of the INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO in 1962 to research and communicate on Right wing activities. GROUP RESEARCH works in close cooperation with IAD. Key factor in the IAD operation, however, seems to have been the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH. ADL put up \$50,000 originally to help get IAD started [IAD "Homefront", 11-12/68] and still provided almost 20% of IAD's gross income in 1968 [C.R. Baker, undated IAD memo, distributed 2/69.] It seems probable ADL also supplied IAD with its name. An INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY has been operated as an ADL affiliate in NYC since 1943 and was still listed as such in 1968. [Gale's *Encyclopedia of Associations*, 2d ed., 1959.] Purpose of the older group was to promote racial and religious tolerance through cards, blotters, bookmarks, bookcovers, etc.

Schwarz returned to Washington in July, 1967, and drew fewer than 80 students, hardly enough to cover expenses.

The week-long outpouring included talks by San Francisco physician Joost Sluis, vice president of Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and ex-FBI agent Herbert Philbrick. New to the cast were Georgetown University professor James D. Atkinson and Phillip A. Luce.

Among the Schwarz pearls:
"Abolition of racism and nationalism are Communist objectives."
"There is not an equality of evil. Some governments are bad; others are worse."
"The Government is not an educational organization."
The sounds were familiar but the crowd size wasn't.

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<u>Halperin, Edwin G.</u>	(1966) Chairman, Blackstone Manufacturing Company, Chicago, Ill. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Marti, Mrs. Lloyd J.</u>	Former pres., NATIONAL BOARD of the YWCA. Added to IAD sponsors in 1967.
<u>Hayes, Ernest A.</u>	(1967) President, Hawkeye National Investment Co., Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. Important in Republican fund raising circles. IAD sponsor from 1966.	<u>Marty, Dr. Martin E.</u>	Prof., Divinity School, Univ. of Chicago and Literary Editor, <i>The Christian Century</i> . IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Height, Miss Dorothy I.</u>	President, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, Wash., D.C.; director, Leadership Training, NATIONAL BOARD of the YWCA. Became an IAD sponsor in 1967.	<u>McGee, Hon. Gale W.</u>	U.S. Senator (D-Myo.), Washington, D.C. and Laramie, Wyo. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Hunter, Dr. David R.</u>	Deputy General Secretary, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>McGill, Ralph</u>	(Died, 1969.) Former publisher, <i>The Atlanta Constitution</i> , Atlanta, Ga. IAD sponsor from 1966. NCCR alumnus.
<u>Israel, C. E.</u>	Vice-president, Fashion Frocks, Cincinnati, O. IAD sponsor from 1966.	<u>McKean, William B.</u>	Retired Marine Corps. general, author, columnist. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.
<u>Keast, Dr. William R.</u>	President, Wayne State Univ., Detroit, Mich. Became IAD sponsor in 1968.	<u>Menninger, Roy</u>	(1966) Director, Dept. of Preventive Psychiatry, The Menninger Fdn., Topeka, Kans. IAD sponsor since 1967.
<u>Kenny, Dr. Dumont F.</u>	(1967) President, York College, York, Nebr. IAD sponsor since 1967.	<u>Mickelson, Prof. Vernon C.</u>	(1966) Dept. of Organ. Sciences, Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, O. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Kerr, Dr. Clark</u>	Foundation executive with CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING; pres., Univ. of California, 1958-1967, who was dismissed by the Board of Regents after "the mess at Berkeley" became issue in 1966 Cal. gubernatorial campaign. Became an IAD sponsor in 1968.	<u>Morrison, Mrs. Norma</u>	Glenview, Ill. Co-chm., COMMITTEE ON ADVANCING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. Recipient, Woman of the Year award from Lifeland (suburban Life newspaper chain) for community service and combatting extremism. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Kerrins, Joseph F.</u>	(1966) Physician, Attleboro, Mass.; president of the CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT (Cath.); consultant to NEW ENGLAND BIRCH WATCHERS. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Moss, Hon. Frank E.</u>	U.S. Senator (D-Utah), Washington, D.C. and Salt Lake City. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Keyserling, Leon H.</u>	President, CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC PROGRESS, Wash., D.C.; former chairman of President's Council of Economic Advisors. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Mueller, Bshp. Reuben H.</u>	Bishop, Evangelical United Brethren Church; former pres., NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES; member, exec. com. and assembly, WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. IAD sponsor since 1967. NCCR alumnus.
<u>Klutznick, Phillip M.</u>	Chicago, Ill. Chmn., Urban Investment & Development Co., Park Forest, Ill., and American Bank & Trust Co., NYC, NY. Former commissioner, Fed. Public Housing Auth., and U.S. Ambassador to the UN Economic and Social Council. Became IAD sponsor in 1968. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Neigh, Dr. Kenneth G.</u>	General Secretary, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the USA, NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1967.
<u>Larson, Dr. Arthur</u>	Director, World Rule of Law Center, Duke Univ., Durham, North Carolina; former head of U.S. Information Agency, Under Secretary of Labor and Spcl. Asst. to the President. Chairman of the NCCR in 1964. An IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Novak, Prof. Michael</u>	Prof. of philosophy and theology, Stanford Univ., Palo Alto, Calif. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.
<u>Lelyveld, Rabbi Arthur J.</u>	Rabbi, Fairmount Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, and president, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. IAD sponsor since 1967.	<u>Olivia, Sister Mary</u>	Past president of St. Xavier College, Chicago, and first religious sister to be named to the Illinois Human Relations Commission. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.
<u>Littell, Dr. Franklin H.</u>	President, Iowa Wesleyan College, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, and chairman of IAD from beginning. Methodist minister and (1949-51) Protestant Adviser to the U.S. High Commissioner in Germany.	<u>Patton, James G.</u>	President, James G. Patton Associates, Tucson, Ariz. and former president of the NATIONAL FARMERS UNION. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.
<u>Lodge, George Cabot</u>	Lecturer, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Mass. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Peterson, Mrs. Esther</u>	Leg. Rep., AMALG. CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMER.; former Asst. Secy. Labor & Spcl. Asst. to Pres., Cons. Affairs. IAD sponsor since 1967.
<u>Loos, Dr. A. William</u>	President, COUNCIL ON RELIGION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (old CHURCH PEACE UNION), NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1967. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Phillips, Lawrence S.</u>	President, Phillips-Van Heusen Corp., NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1967.
<u>MacLeish, Archibald</u>	Conway, Mass. Poet. Former Librarian of Congress, Asst. Dir., Office of War Information, and Assistant Secretary of State. IAD sponsor since 1967. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Pope, Bshp. W. Kenneth</u>	Bishop of Dallas-Ft. Worth Area of Methodist Church. IAD sponsor since 1967.
<u>Marcus, Stanley</u>	President, Neiman-Marcus Company, Dallas, Tex. IAD sponsor since 1967.	<u>Potofsky, Jacob S.</u>	President, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA and chairman, Amalgamated Bank of N.Y., NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.
		<u>Rapaport, Bernard</u>	President, American Income Life Insurance Co., Waco, Tex. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.

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The week-long outpouring included talks by San Francisco physician Joost Sluis, vice president of Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and ex-FBI agent Herbert Philbrick. New to the cast were Georgetown University professor James D. Atkinson and Phillip A. Luce.

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IAD sponsors and chief officers:

IAD sponsors serve as individuals. Here, as in IAD materials, therefore, their institutions have been noted merely for purposes of identification. Wherever possible, IAD biographical data has been updated to 1968-69 with additional information sometimes added from other sources. Otherwise, the date of the biographical data has been indicated in parentheses immediately preceding the text. Length of service as an IAD sponsor is given at the conclusion of the text as is previous association with the 1964 NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY (NCCR). For expediency, IAD's two chief officers, Dr. Littell and Mr. Baker have been included alphabetically with the sponsors.

<u>Abram, Morris B.</u>	Pres., Brandeis Univ., Waltham, Mass.; pres., AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE; former U.S. Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Carter, Prof. Hodding</u>	Greenville, Miss. Publisher, <i>Delta Democrat-Times</i> . IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Adamo, Msgr. Salvatori J.</u>	(1966) Executive editor, <i>Catholic Star Herald</i> , Camden, NJ. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Case, Hon. Clifford P.</u>	U.S. Senator (R-NJ), Washington, D.C. and Rahway, NJ. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Allen, Steve</u>	TV personality, Hollywood, Calif. IAD sponsor since 1967 who also has helped as fund raiser.	<u>Cate, Dr. William B.</u>	(1966) Executive secretary, Greater Portland (Ore.) Council of Churches. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Applegate, Dr. Irvamae</u>	Dean, School of Education, State College, St. Cloud, Minn.; former pres., NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Cogley, John</u>	Editor, <i>The Center Magazine</i> , CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, Santa Barbara, Calif., and former religious editor of the <i>N.Y. Times</i> . IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Arnold, Judge Thurman</u>	Washington, D.C. attorney and former associate justice, U.S. Court of Appeals. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Cronin, The Rev. John F., S.S.</u>	U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE, Washington, D.C.; former director of social action, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE. IAD sponsor since 1967.
<u>Ashmore, Harry S.</u>	Executive vice-president, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, Santa Barbara, Calif., and vice-chairman of the FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. Former editor-in-chief, <i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i> . IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Dalsimer, Samuel</u>	Vice-chairman and secretary, Grey Advertising Agency, NYC, NY; 1967 chairman, program div., ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Baker, Charles R.</u>	Executive director of IAD, Washington, D.C., since 1966. Former head of a Toledo public relations firm.	<u>Dean, Sidney Walter, Jr.</u>	President, Venture Development Corp., NYC, NY. Became an IAD sponsor in 1968.
<u>Baldwin, Roger N.</u>	N.Y.C., NY. A founder of the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION and its executive director for 30 years; hon. pres., INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN. Became IAD sponsor in 1968.	<u>deLima, Oscar A.</u>	Chairman, Roger Smith Hotels Corp., NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.
<u>Barry, The Rev. Colman J., O.S.B.</u>	President, St. John's Univ., Collegeville, Minn. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Ellis, Clyde T.</u>	General manager emeritus, NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASS'N., Wash., D.C. IAD sponsor since 1967.
<u>Bell, Prof. Daniel</u>	Prof. of sociology, Columbia Univ., N.Y.C., NY, and co-editor, <i>The Public Interest</i> , a "little" magazine to influence the influentials. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Ewing, Oscar</u>	Attorney, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; former Federal Security Agency Administrator. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.
<u>Bennett, Dr. John C.</u>	President, Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.C., NY. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Faulk, John Henry</u>	Radio & TV personality who won \$3½ million judgement in 6-year black-listing suit. Became an IAD sponsor in 1968.
<u>Berger, Meyer</u>	President, M. Berger Co., Pittsburgh, Pa., and treasurer of AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION. Became IAD sponsor in 1968.	<u>Folsom, Marion B.</u>	A director and former treasurer of Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, NY; former Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.
<u>Bernstein, Daniel J.</u>	Senior partner, D. J. Bernstein & Co., Scarsdale, NY, and member of the NY Stock Exchange. Became an IAD sponsor in 1968.	<u>Gavin, James M.</u>	Retired lt. general and chairman, Arthur D. Little, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.; former U.S. Ambassador to France. Became IAD sponsor in 1968.
<u>Biddle, Francis</u>	(Died, 1968.) Former U.S. Attorney General and D.C. lawyer. 1968 Ch., National Committee, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. Nat. Ch., 1950-1953, AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION; former Vice-Ch. & Trustee, 20TH CENTURY FUND. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Gibbons, Rev. Dr. Ray</u>	Director, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, and an important figure in the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1966.
<u>Blaustein, Jacob</u>	Baltimore, Md. A co-founder of the American Oil Co.; former member of the U.S. Delegation to the UN; hon. pres., AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.	<u>Gordon, Jack D.</u>	President, Washington Federal & Loan Association. Became an IAD sponsor in 1968.
<u>Brooke, Hon. Edward W.</u>	U.S. Senator (R-Mass.), Washington, D.C. and Newton Center, Mass. Became IAD sponsor in 1968.	<u>Grant, Bshp. A. Raymond</u>	(Died, 1967.) Former president of the Methodist Board of Missions. IAD sponsor from 1966. NCCR alumnus.
<u>Burt, Rt. Rev. John H.</u>	Bishop-Coadj., Protestant Episcopal Church, Cleveland, O. IAD sponsor since 1966.	<u>Greeley, Dr. Dana McClean</u>	President, Unitarian-Universalist Association, Boston, Mass. IAD sponsor since 1967. NCCR alumnus.
		<u>Haber, Dr. William</u>	Dean, College of Lit., Science & Arts, Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor. IAD sponsor from 1966. NCCR alumnus.

Reuther, Walter P. President, INTNL. UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMER. (UAW), Detroit, Mich. IAD sponsor since 1966 and a leading initiator of the movement of which IAD is a part.

Ring, Edward A. President, Circle F. Industries, Trenton, NJ. IAD sponsor since 1966.

Rockefeller, Mrs. Winthrop Morrilton, Ark. Wife of multi-millionaire Republican governor of Arkansas, civic leader and spokesman (past pres.) of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.

Routh, Dr. Frederick Executive secretary, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS, Washington, D.C. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.

Ruder, William President of Ruder & Finn, Inc., NYC public relations firm; former Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968. NCCR alumnus.

Schary, Dore Motion picture producer, author, playwright, NYC, NY, and national chairman of the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.

Shannon, Most Rev. James P. Pastor of the Church of St. Helena, Minneapolis, Minn., and Auxiliary to the Archbishop of St. Paul. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.

Sheerin, The Rev. John B., C.S.P. (1966) Editor of *The Catholic World*, NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1966.

Shuster, George N. Assistant to the president, Notre Dame Univ., South Bend, Ind., and former president, Hunter College, NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1966.

Sonnabend, Roger P. President & chief executive officer, Hotel Corp. of America, Boston, Mass. IAD sponsor since 1967. NCCR alumnus.

Spaulding, Asa T. President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., Durham, NC. IAD sponsor since 1966.

Stevenson, Adlai E., III (1967) Chicago attorney and Treasurer of the State of Illinois. IAD sponsor since 1967.

Thomas, Bshp. James S. Bishop of the Methodist Church, Des Moines, Iowa. IAD sponsor since 1967.

Thompson, William Phelps Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church, NYC, NY. Added to IAD sponsors in 1967.

True, Arnold E. Rear Admiral (USN-Ret). Former destroyer officer on staff of Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, 1944-46. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.

Tuller, Rev. Dr. Edwin H. General Secretary, American Baptist Convention, Valley Forge, Pa., and first vice-president, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. Added to IAD sponsors in 1968.

Untermeyer, Louis Author, poet, editor, anthologist and former poetry consultant to the Library of Congress, Newtown, Conn. IAD sponsor since 1966.

Wedel, Mrs. Theodore O. NYC, NY. Wife of a Protestant Episcopal rector and herself an important figure in church affairs as associate general secretary for Christian Unity, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, and former vice-president of the organization. Added to IAD sponsors in 1967.

Wiles, Dr. Kimball Dean, College of Education, Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla. An IAD sponsor since 1966 but no longer listed as of 10/68 IAD "Homefront".

Wilkins, Roy Executive director, NATIONAL ASS'N. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, NYC, NY. IAD sponsor since 1966. NCCR alumnus.

Young, Dr. Whitney M., Jr. Executive director, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, NYC, NY. An IAD sponsor since 1967.

IAD Perspective:

IAD sees itself as a guardian of democracy interdicting an "anarchistic New Left... bent on triggering a police state reaction" and a "Far Right eager to accommodate it." [Charles Baker, IAD undated memorandum: "Danger on the Right, a Moral Problem for Whom?", mailed 2/11/69; p 2.] Of the two - New Left and Far Right - IAD views the latter as far more dangerous to democratic institutions. IAD holds to a broad-brush, conspiratorial view of the Right as a movement which is fascistic and subversive in character - a stereotype long familiar to those following the more radical, partisan Left Wing press but which seems incongruous and ominous when put forward in the names of leading church and educational officials, prominent businessmen, former military figures and distinguished leaders in both major political parties. That this is a stereotype which does not respond to greater knowledge of the Right gained from the extensive research of the past 6 years may be seen by comparing IAD's executive director's comments in 1969 with those put forward in 1963 by the AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION. [COPE Memo, 3/63; p 4.]

"To really understand the dangers posed by the right wing, try to envision - based on what we know of rightist purposes and methods - an American under its control:

"Free labor unions would be smashed. Social welfare programs would

vanish. Free elections would end. The liberal clergy would be muffled. Dissent would be gagged. Schools would teach only 'safe' doctrines of ultra-conservatism. We would become, like Hitler's Germany, a nation of neighbor spying on neighbor."

As with COPE in 1963 and the NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY in 1964, so IAD's executive director sees the Right Wing in 1969 as a \$50 million a year, JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY dominated movement which continues to work "constantly to take over or discredit organizations which prop up democracy." [Op. cit., p 5, emphasis original.] As a result of the movement's activities and propaganda, clergymen have been forced to "softpedal social commentary or go to other churches" [ibid.], PTA's have suffered a drastic loss in membership [ibid.], "beachheads" have been won "in local police departments, thus establishing, in embryo at least, a cadre of potential storm troopers trained at the taxpayer's expense" [ibid.] and in the wake of the close 1968 election the movement now can post "a defensible claim that it accounted for the victory margin...a political chit the racist Far Right will certainly try to cash in during the Nixon Administration." [Ibid, p 1.]

This will be enough in the immediate future, according to IAD's executive director, to exercise an effective political brake on any "sustained effort" by the new Administration "to provide higher levels of hope and help in impoverished areas" [ibid, p 3, emphasis original]. Moreover, by promoting "a preoccupation with 'communism'" it will be sufficient to preclude "any effort to work out a rapprochement with the Russians, let alone the Chinese." [Ibid, p 4.]

In the longer run, IAD's executive director draws a grimmer picture. "In my view," Baker says, "we do face a fascist-type movement in America." [Ibid, p 6., emphasis original.] Baker sees the "Birchers and their allies" as "holding down the safety valves and stoking the flames" of New Left and racial dissension, hoping for a "catastrophic impasse which could suck them into power" presumably "by political means, as in Germany, rather than by military means, as in Greece." [Ibid, p 3.] Baker's conclusion: "Our homegrown fascist-type movement wants America to become ungovernable." [Ibid, emphasis original.] Biding their time behind personalities like the JBS' Robert Welch with his "paranoic rumblings about the 'Communist conspiracy'," Baker sees a small group of plotters "whose social philosophy dates back to a period when rough and tumble individualists had the influence exercised by today's impersonal giant corporations" who "must be constantly conspiring on how to use this force to gain their own ends." [Ibid, p 5.] Baker continues [ibid, p 6, emphasis original, capitalization added]:

" Behind the BIRCH zealots are industrialists who are likely not much taken in by all of the BIRCH propaganda they helped make possible. And with them are retired generals and admirals whose opportunity to direct the destinies of men has been sharply altered.

" A movement dominated by men of this competitive stripe is not likely to be sensitive about freedoms destroyed or institutions toppled as it tramps toward power.

" In my view, the Far Right is a frenzied movement with an inner life of its own. It stimulates spirals of hatred and violence which, as in Germany, can whirl out of control. It attracts para-military groups like the MINUTEMEN and the KLAN who share the 'anti-Communist' posture, the pseudo religion and the super nationalism of the dominant BIRCH SOCIETY.

" In my view, we do face a fascist-type movement in America. As in Germany, it feeds on racism, including anti-Semitism. Its zealots take orders from above, and some also take the law into their own hands."

As indicated, these views are those of IAD's executive director, Charles R. Baker. The extent to which they prevail among IAD's sponsors and those with whom IAD com-

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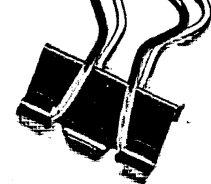
Among the Schwarz pearls:

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municates is, of course, not known. In this connection, though, two points are worth noting. (1) 54% of IAD's original sponsors (28% of its present expanded board) were associated previously with the NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY which put forward a similar conspiratorial point of view about the Right Wing as far back as 1964. 68% of IAD's sponsors have served since 1966. Another 8% have served since 1967. There has been ample time, therefore, for IAD sponsors to evaluate the accuracy of IAD charges against the Right as well as the prudence of IAD's approach. Their positions of responsibility in leading institutions combined with professional backgrounds which frequently include important governmental posts should give IAD sponsors a more rounded base of judgement than the average local activist attracted by what IAD has had to say. The continued presence of men and women such as these on IAD's board of sponsors seems to indicate, therefore, that this sort of neo-fascist, conspiratorial point of view about the Right now has spread from the partisan Left to some of our most important families and most important institutions. (2) In a substantiating and related vein, it must be remembered that IAD's executive director, Charles Baker, comes from a public relations background where the *credibility* of one's acts assumes great importance. Presumably, then, Baker would not write in terms which his audience was not prepared to accept. That audience, Baker notes, includes "just about every major organization on the side of the angels" with "more requests for materials and help from Protestant clergymen and Protestant organizations than from any other category." [Op. cit., p7.]

This is not an influence which can be lightly brushed aside. Many thoughtful and responsible people share IAD's concern about the way group pressures relate to concentrated power in today's America. Public reactions stemming from this concern but unaccompanied by knowledge of political processes *could* trigger the kind of result feared by IAD's executive director - an undreamed of possibility even 25 years ago. When influential persons like IAD's sponsors do not even appear to have any substantive knowledge of what terms like *fascism* and *Nazism* mean, the possibility is magnified. By definition [Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 2d ed.], *fascism* applies to any program "for setting up a centralized autocratic national regime with severely nationalistic policies, exercising regimentation of industry, commerce, and finance, rigid censorship, and forcible suppression of opposition." *Nazism* [ibid, italics added] applies to the "body of political and economic doctrines held and put into effect by the *National Socialist German Workers' party* in the Third German Reich, including the totalitarian principle of government, state control of all industry, predominance of groups assumed to be racially superior, and supremacy of the Fuhrer; German fascism." Fear *could* trigger fascism, but to do so it needs the kind of centralized regime which Socialism necessarily brings. Attempts to divorce Nazism from Socialism as a political fraud and subterfuge simply don't wash out historically. As influential a Socialist as George Bernard Shaw was lavish in his praise of Hitler and German National Socialism - until it came to anti-semitism and genocide. [The Taste of Courage, D. Flower & J. Reeves, eds., Harper & Row, 1960; pp 7-8, J.B. Shaw, "The Reason for Fighting."]

There are groups in the U.S.A., to be sure, which exhibit fascist and Nazi traits. It is inaccurate, though, to relate these terms indiscriminately to the groups for which IAD reserves its special fire no matter how one may react to them otherwise. The goal of the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, IAD's main target, is "less government, more responsibility, and a better world for all." Another IAD target, the CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION, upholds "the Constitution of the United States and the limited government which it inaugurated" and believes "in the free market economy and the faithful application of Christian principles to all economic activities." [Masthead, *Christian Economics*.] Generally, it may be said, most of the groups identified by IAD as "radical Right" and "extremist" share a common faith in God, private control of property, and limited government with checks and balances built in *against* usurpation of power and have been frequently criticized in the past for *resisting* the centralizing process. Such groups may be validly criticized for many things, but not

for being pro-fascist or pro-Nazi. If more than simply a pejorative purpose is to be served, it should be recognized that such groups are as *anti*-Nazi and *anti*-fascist as they are anti-Communist, anti-Socialist and pro-capitalist. They share a common antipathy with IAD for Nazism and fascism. The difference is directional: they look to the left to see Nazis where IAD looks right.

IAD: Extremism - Left, Right and Middle

"Extremism," says IAD, "has been defined as 'extreme confidence in the rightness of simple, untested solutions to complex problems.'" ["Homefront", 9/67; p 2.] IAD sees itself as defending a middle ground of moderates from attacks by extremists of both the Extreme Left and Extreme Right.

IAD's Extreme Left includes groups comprised "primarily of persons believing in some interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., some brand of Communism." ["Homefront", 5/68; p 32.] It lists as samples [ibid]:

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
W.E.B. DuBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY
REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (SLP)
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
SPARTACIST LEAGUE
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES
WORKERS WORLD PARTY
YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

IAD describes most of these as being Soviet, Maoist or Trotskyist in outlook. Three, however - SLP, SNCC and SDS - it describes as Independent. Of these, SNCC is identified as having "coupled with the violent revolutionaries in 1967" while SDS "has no clear delineation" but "chapters run the gamut from non-Marxist radical to Maoist to anarchist." [Ibid.]

In a footnote IAD adds the NEW ENGLAND PARTY OF LABOR, PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE TO BUILD A MARXIST-LENINIST VANGUARD COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE USA, WORKERS' LEAGUE and WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY. These it describes along with the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA as "small and bear minimal influence." IAD states that income figures for the Extreme Left are elusive and gives none for any of the groups listed except for the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA whose annual income IAD estimates to be "increased somewhat" in 1968 from \$148,000 reported in 1966. [Ibid.]

At the Extreme Right, IAD sees a very different picture: a lavishly financed movement (a GROUP RESEARCH estimate of \$40 to \$50 million annually is cited) consisting of "hundreds of literary organizations, committees and propaganda entrepreneurs" echoing with "brainwashing monotony" themes set by the "Birchers and their buddies." [Ibid; p 33.]

Central to the movement are groups which most frequently have been singled out for IAD exposure and which shared a total 1967 income estimated at \$12,981,525:

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
Carl McIntire Complex
LIFE LINE
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE
MANION FORUM

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Among the Schwarz pearls:

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CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE
Dan Smoot Report
 LIBERTY LOBBY
 YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM
 CONSERVATIVE SOCIETY OF AMERICA
 CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
 Harding College's NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM
 AMERICA'S FUTURE

Four others are added to these by IAD [*ibid*] as examples of "many others following the McIntire-Hargis formula." (Reference is to Rev. Carl McIntire - 20TH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR, *Christian Beacon*, etc. - and Rev. Billy James Hargis' CHRISTIAN CRUSADE. Along with the CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA, these have more and more shared the IAD spotlight with the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.) Except for VOICE OF AMERICANISM whose income figures are not available, IAD estimates the four samples identified below shared an additional \$838,970 in 1967 [*ibid*]:

Conservative Viewpoint
 VOICE OF AMERICANISM
 BIBLE INSTITUTE OF THE AIR
 CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION

To complete its itinerary of the Extreme Right, IAD adds a mixed bag of "primarily racist groups" with the last two sharing an estimated \$97,479 in 1967 (others not available) [*ibid*]:

KU KLUX KLAN
 WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL
 BLACK MUSLIMS
 AMERICAN NAZI PARTY
 NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL
 NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY

Finally, by footnote, IAD pairs the "racist MINUTEMEN" with the REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT from its Extreme Left listing as examples of groups which go beyond "the propaganda extremists" in their approach. [*Ibid*, capitalization added.]

Commenting on groups, periodicals and personalities of the Left and Right extremes, Dr. Littell, IAD's chairman, states: "Perhaps our outstanding characteristic is that of a magnet. We attract those who are under attack, and those who have special insights to contribute to the defense of the middle ground. And we pull those efforts to besmirch us which reveal the inner sickness of the witch hunters of the land." [*"Homefront"*, 11-12/68; p 79, citing opening remarks at Southwestern Iowa Seminar on Extremism.]

Dr. Littell neatly encapsulates IAD's role. In defending the middle ground from the "witch hunters of the land", however, IAD's tone and program approach incorporate many of the same characteristics which it condemns in others as "extremist". Reproduced on the next page is a yardstick published by IAD to help its constituents recognize extremism. [*"Homefront"*, 5/67; p 7.] Measuring IAD's own performance against the first three elements it cites will help to illustrate this point.

Item: Extremists live in "closed rooms." They won't really listen if you argue with them.

In a broadcast over WHO, 11/21/66, Dr. Littell mistakenly referred to the CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE (CACC) instead of CHRISTIAN CRUSADE in remarks which characterized its leader as "a \$3 bill." The similarity in names makes the error understandable. Far less understandable is Dr. Littell's subsequent agreement to make

a public correction only in words so specified as to constitute a further attack on CACC - let alone two letters to others denying he had made the error in the first place. [Cf, CACC newsletters of 4/3/67 & 4/17/67 reprinting correspondence in full. CACC, 124 E. 1st St., Long Beach, Cal. 90801.]

Item: They are "faceless." They prefer to be a part of the group. Most don't want their secret roles exposed.

IAD's program emphasis is on Right-wing extremism. Most of IAD's key target groups here share IAD's practice of identifying their sponsors and some (not all) issue public annual financial statements. And while it is not common practice to make public the names of large individual financial supporters (or members or subscribers, either), few can be said to have shared IAD's own reticence in this regard. "When we announced IAD back in November of 1966, we indicated we were not going to publicize the names of contributors because they would be subject to harassment." [*"Homefront"*, 11-12/68; p79.]

Item: All Evil flows from a "Conspiracy." They have the most incredibly "simple" explanation for complex events. That darned "conspiracy!"

We have already commented on IAD's conspiratorial explanation of the Right-wing extreme (pp 4,5). Reproduced as the last 4 pages of this report is an IAD promotional mailing widely distributed in 1968 accompanied by a fund appeal from TV personality, Steve Allen. This further illustrates IAD's conspiracy syndrome, especially the chart on the final page.

Another illustration of IAD extremism is in the way it reports the news. Headlines alone do much to show the tenor of IAD reporting and any issue of "*Homefront*" can serve to illustrate. These are from the November-December 1968 issue:

"Birchers Already Besmirching Nixon"
 "Will 1969 Be the Year of the Smear?"
 "Minutemen At Large"
 "The Birch Society Bets on its Front Groups"
 "Critics Would Still Church Social Voice"
 "A Communist Front Exploits a Problem"
 "McIntire Empire Split by Coup As Aides Object to Broadcasts"
 "Far Right Puts Squeeze On that Grape Boycott"
 "Far Right Makes War on Sex Education"
 "Bundy, Buckley and Bircher Make United Charge Against IAD"
 "Who Will Get the 'Third Party'?"

Signs of Extremism (Reprinted from "*Homefront*", IAD, 5/67, p 7)

1—Extremists live in "closed rooms."

They won't really listen if you argue with them.

2—They are "faceless."

They prefer to be a part of the group. Most don't want their secret roles exposed.

3—All Evil flows from a "Conspiracy."

They have the most incredibly "simple" explanation for complex events. That darned "conspiracy!"

4—They are "Ideologues."

Pragmatic solutions to problems are never considered. Your problem had darned well better fit their solution.

5—They are fighting a "Holy War."

They are so sure they are right that their ends justify their sometimes sinister means.

6—They rewrite history & news.

Everything must fit into their pattern. Das Kapital and Mein Kampf are prime examples.

7—They must control or discredit.

You can't have "outside" groups producing evidence which refutes their "true" facts.

8—They are haters, not lovers.

They are not really "for" much of anything, but they "know" what is "wrong."

10—They accept discipline.

None of this democracy stuff. You get the true message from Mecca.

11—They must change systems.

Never mind making adjustments; out with the old and in with the new.

12—Their movement yearns for power.

It shows a group-sense of self-interest.

13—They are incredibly gullible.

They believe their leader, not their eyes, ears or noses.

ARE THESE EXTREMISTS OF THE FAR LEFT OR FAR RIGHT? The answer: Both. At both extremes, people act the same. It isn't so much what they believe as how they believe it.

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IAD - Membership and Finances

IAD does not specify the size of its membership, referring only to "several thousand" supporters built from a base originally established by IAD mailings to "30,000 leadership persons whom we hoped would be concerned about extremism." ["Homefront", 5/67; p 1.]

IAD supporters are divided into 5 categories according to the amount of their contribution. \$5 associates and \$10 contributors receive IAD's basic periodical, "Homefront." \$25 sustaining associates, \$100 donors and \$1,000 honorary members receive "Homefront" plus periodic and sometimes quite lengthy special IAD reports. The bulk of IAD's support received from individuals is in the \$5 and \$10 brackets with IAD reporting only one \$1,000 honorary member by May, 1967. [Ibid.] Says IAD ["Homefront", 12/68; p 79]: "Our largest source of funds comes in the form of small contributions from many large-hearted individuals."

As previously noted (p 9), IAD has maintained a policy from the outset of not revealing the names of contributors "because they would be subject to harassment." The only really substantial grant acknowledged by IAD to date has been from the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH. This came in late 1968 after one of IAD's main targets - Edgar Bundy of the CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA - discovered from ADL's tax returns that it made a \$50,000 grant to help launch IAD in 1966. [Ibid.] Subsequently, IAD executive director Baker revealed that ADL continues to be "the largest single contributor to IAD, supplying almost 20% of our 1968 gross income." [C. R. Baker, undated IAD memo: "Danger on the Right, A Moral Problem for Whom?", distributed 2/11/69.]

While IAD receives some income from the sale of its publications, film rentals, etc., it is doubtful this does much more than cover costs. Beyond this, IAD - like GROUP RESEARCH, INC. - fills many requests for assistance at little or no cost to recipients. In the absence of large financial grants this is bound to cause financial difficulties in the long run even though greatly magnifying the immediate impact of the operation. Both GRI and IAD are now complaining of a pinch. [Ibid.]

IAD Program

While basically a communicating mechanism, IAD also serves organizing, integrating and research functions in three related and overlapping program areas:

- interdicting activities and individuals described by IAD as extremist;
- interdicting related political figures;
- interdicting related broadcasts.

In the first instance IAD notes the presence of an extremist Left while putting by far its greatest emphasis on exposure of an extremist Right. In the latter two cases, IAD emphasis has been wholly on the Right.

IAD uses every form of communications to transmit its message about extremism to a network of cooperating groups and individuals. At the national level these include ["Homefront", 2/67; p 3]:

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AFL-CIO
GROUP RESEARCH, INC.
NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION
Protestant and Catholic Church organizations.

Beyond these at the national level is a very large and mixed bag of groups and periodicals which may be said to be tuned to IAD's wavelength on extremism. Some pre-date IAD, having helped to structure, equip and finance the anti-Right-wing campaign from late 1961 through 1964 (indicated by a * in the list below). Others have been drawn into the campaign for reasons which run the gamut from Socialist commitment and/or fear of nascent Nazism to simple public interest in the issue of extremism. Some obviously belong to the partisan Left wing. Others, though, are among the most pre-eminent contemporary "mainstream" influences. By now the list is much too long to do more than sample for an idea of the extent to which the campaign has spread [as noted from various issues of "Homefront", materials produced by the elements concerned, service by top elected or staff officials as IAD sponsors, etc.]:

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA - AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION - AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION - AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS - AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS - AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION - *AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION - *The Catholic World* (and at a more restricted diocesan level, *The Catholic Star Herald*) - CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS (and its parent body, the FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC) - *The Christian Century* - *COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION (COPE, AFL-CIO) - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY - COUNCIL ON RELIGION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS - DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE (which endorsed GROUP RESEARCH, INC. in August, 1965) - EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH - *INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT (AFL-CIO) - INTNL. ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS - INTNL. LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION - *JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE - *LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY - LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS - *Life* and *Look* magazines - METHODIST CHURCH (including its GENERAL BOARD OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERNS which endorsed IAD in early 1968 and resolved to support it financially) - NAACP - *The Nation* - NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS - NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH - NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS - NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES - NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN - *NATIONAL FARMERS UNION - NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - *N.Y. Times* (along with such other nationally known local dailies as the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *N.Y.*, *Washington and Denver Post's*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*) - PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH - *Ramparts* - *Saturday Review* - *Senior Scholastic* - *TV Guide* - UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION - *UNITED AUTO WORKERS UNION - UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST (esp. its Dept. of Communications and COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION) - UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES - UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE USA - U. S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE - NATIONAL BOARD of the YWCA.

Not included above are two organizations which should be noted parenthetically because of their historical role in creating the movement of which IAD is a part. One is the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA which played a key part in inspiring the present anti-radical-Right campaign from the end of 1959 through 1961. The CPUSA gradually phased down its own anti-radical-Right expression as the theme was picked up by elements progressively closer to the American "mainstream". The other organization is the SOCIALIST PARTY, USA (then, SOCIALIST PARTY-SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION) which, under Norman Thomas, played a key part in spreading the anti-radical-Right theme among non-Communist elements during 1961. Doing the research for Thomas at this time was Irwin Suall, then the National Secretary of the SOCIALIST PARTY-SDF, who, by 1967, had become Director of Domestic Fact Finding for the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH.

On the following page we continue the IAD communications network by listing (insofar as possible from IAD materials) groups and individuals at the state and local level singled out by IAD for their activities in countering extremism. Where IAD does not identify a formal organization, the activity referred to is probably that of individuals or ad hoc groups. Unorganized activities of this nature, however, should not be under-estimated. Backed by the national resources available through IAD, they can be quite effective; especially in the case of protesting Right-wing broadcasts where they are backed by the "Fairness Doctrine" of the Federal Communications Commission.

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State & Locality	Group	Individuals
Alaska-Anchorage	ANCHORAGE ANTI-EXTREMIST LEAGUE	Ralph C. Hansen
-Ketchikan	*	*
Ariz.-Mesa	*	Mrs. R. Lavelle Robertson
Calif.-*	"Dixon Line"	Dixon Gayer
-Bakersfield	*	Mrs. Mary Paul
"	*	Mrs. Betty Mason
-San Diego	SAN DIEGO COUNC. FOR PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY	Bob Sessions
"	E. SAN GABRIEL VALLEY COUNC. OF PUBL. RESP.	" "
"	CALIF. COUNCIL FOR PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY	" "
-San Leandro	*	Marilyn Baker
Fla.-C. Kennedy	*	*
-Pinellas	PINELLAS ASSN. FOR CONSTRUCTIVE THINKING	Edward Whitney (dec.)
Ga.-Atlanta	*	*
Idaho-Boise	TREASURE VALLEY COM. FOR AMER. DEMOCRACY	Orville A. Coats
-Caldwell	*	*
-Idaho Falls	*	*
-Twin Falls	*	*
Ill.-Aurora	*	Rev. Robert C. Harvey
-Chicago	COM. FOR ADVANCING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS	Mrs. Robert Francis
"	" " " "	(+) Norma Morrison
-Highland Pk.	NORTHERN ILL. CITIZENS FOR DEMOCRACY	(±) Edward G. Halperin
Deerfield	" " " "	Chuck Park
-Morton Grove	*	Frank A. Ruehle
Ind.-Chesterton	WESTCHESTER CITIZENS COUNC. FOR AMER. DEM.	Mrs. Janice Paul
-Ft. Wayne	PEOPLE'S FORUM	*
Iowa-Mt. Pleasant	*	*
-Chariton	VETERANS OPPOSED TO OBNOXIOUS MOVEMENTS	B. F. Norberg
Kans.-Wichita	*	*
Md.-Baltimore	MARYLAND COM. FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY	Gene Noble
Mass.-Cape Cod	*	Rev. Richard Waters
-Middleboro	MIDDLEBORO INFORMATION LEAGUE	*
Mich.-Ann Arbor	*	*
-Grand Rapids	GRAND RAPIDS COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY	*
-Midland	CANDLE LIGHTERS	*
N.J.-Ho-Ho-Kus	BERGEN ALERT COMMITTEE	*
-Trenton	*	*
N.Y.-Farmingdale	FARMINGTON ACTION COMMITTEE	*
-Goshen	*	*
Ohio-Cincinnati	*	John Bruen, Sr.
-Cleveland	NATL. COMMITTEE FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY	(+) C. E. (Mike) Israel
Okla.-Okla. City	*	Hal Steigman
-Yukon	*	*
Ore.-Veneta	*	Rev. Carlyle Yates
Pa.-Broomall	*	Mrs. Gladys Sharon
-Elkins Pk.	*	Mrs. Mae Hudson Williams
-Lebanon	*	Richard Clayton
-Pittsburgh	CITIZENS' CONCERN FOR THE DEM. PROCESS	Dr. Kermit C. Morrissey
"	*	(+) Meyer Berger
Tenn.-Memphis	*	Mrs. Robert Shafer
Tex.-Dallas	*	Ken Lagoni
Utah-Salt Lake City	*	*
Va.-Berryville	DISCUSSION GROUP	Margaret V. Smith
-Richmond	*	Mrs. Eulah Eubank
Wash.-Tacoma	*	Mrs. Mabel Rupe

(*) Unspecified. (+) IAD sponsor. (±) may be misspelling of Edwin G. Halperin, IAD sponsor.

SOURCE: IAD "Homefront", Vol. 1, no. 1 (2/67) - Vol 3, no. 2 (2/69).

Among the IAD state and local cooperators listed opposite is one local group, Cleveland's NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY, which was formed autonomously during the period dominated by IAD's predecessor, the NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY. A number of others have names which suggest they, too, may stem from this earlier period. Still others incorporate some version of AMERICAN DEMOCRACY in their titles, suggesting they may have received their impetus from IAD. For state and local cooperators of this sort, regardless of their genealogy, IAD ["Homefront", 11/67; p 5] acts as:

"A clearinghouse for information and insights;

"A source of usable materials;

"The stimulus that can enlarge their numbers;

"The fixed reference point with which all can identify."

To fulfill this function, IAD uses every form of communications media:

- "Homefront" is IAD's principal communications mechanism. It is a 4 to 8 page hard-hitting tabloid which appears sometimes monthly, sometimes every two months.

All IAD supporters receive "Homefront." Occasionally, issues or sections are offered at bulk rates or set in such a way that they may be easily reproduced. [The illustration at right is from an IAD promotional flyer distributed 12/68.]



- Special IAD memoranda. Generally, these are prepared by IAD executive director, Charles R. Baker, and sent to those contributing \$25 or more annually to IAD. They are sometimes quite lengthy, covering in more detail than is possible in "Homefront" such subjects as IAD's progress [5/67], in-depth coverage of a JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY annual convention [7/67], attacks on IAD [10/67], and data IAD feels is specially timely or important in exposing prime Right-wing targets [12/67]. The latter instance concerned the West Coast representative of Dr. Carl McIntire, a frequent target of IAD, who was implicated by New Orleans District Attorney James Garrison in his investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy. As IAD put it: "And while we have no information indicating that Bradley is involved, if Garrison's charges against McIntire associate Edgar Eugene Bradley gain any credibility, then there will be great interest in all of McIntire's associations." [underlining added.]

Special memos of this sort also have included "not for publication" data on California governor Ronald Reagan along with an IAD progress report on its campaign against Right-wing broadcasts [3/68] and a "confidential" IAD assessment of the political situation [10/68]. On at least one occasion, though, an IAD special memorandum has been an up-dated version of an earlier IAD background paper prepared for other purposes. This was the Baker memorandum of 2/69 cited earlier in this report. [P 4ff, "Danger on the Right, A Moral Problem for Whom?"] This was prepared by IAD and sent by invitation originally to more than a thousand Protestant and Catholic leaders.

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- ° Other publications. These include pamphlets, special studies, fact sheets, bibliographies, etc., some published by IAD, some distributed by IAD from cooperating national organizations. Samples:

How to Combat Air Pollution (IAD manual containing instructions on using the FCC "Fairness Doctrine" to help counter Right-wing broadcasts.)

The Shake-up America Campaign (by IAD staffer Barbara Hogan and billed as a "Who's Who and What's What in the Massive John Birch Society Propaganda Effort to Fan the Flames of Racial Tension.")

Who's Behind George? (IAD analysis of "Far Right involvement in Third Party effort" of Alabama governor George Wallace prepared for use in the 1968 campaign but still plugged by IAD for its continuing usefulness in 1969.)

Community Committee Handbook (nuts and bolts advice on how to "establish community committees for democracy.")

Shorter types of IAD-distributed materials include:

"Max Rafferty Fact Sheet" (a GROUP RESEARCH analysis of California's superintendent for public instruction.)

"Anarchy-USA" (analysis of a JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY film for use alone or in conjunction with an IAD rental copy of the film.)

"Labor's Special Stake" (an analysis of a Right-wing threat to collective bargaining.)

"Far Right War on Sex Education" (page from 12/68 "Homefront".)

"JBS Propaganda Force" (4-page "Homefront" reprint offered as a "Fine Primer on Far Right.")

IAD also distributes materials on extremism produced by "both Protestant and Catholic church organizations, ADL [ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE], and AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AFL-CIO, the NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, and others." ["Homefront", 2/67; capitalization added.]

- ° Speeches. Both IAD top officials maintain extensive speaking schedules. On one 8-day swing in April, 1968, "Homefront" reports that executive director Baker spoke in Oak Ridge, Tenn., Tacoma and Seattle, Wash., Bakersfield and San Francisco, Cal., and Greenville, N.C. During 1967, IAD chairman Littell reportedly gave at least 50 speeches on extremism "before nationally significant audiences" under sponsorship, among others, of the Southern Baptists, the NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, YMCA COUNCIL, NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE and church councils in Detroit, Dallas, Burlington, Seattle and elsewhere. He also appeared on numerous college campuses. ["Homefront", 11/67; p 6.]

- ° Seminars. In a related vein, Littell and Baker also participate extensively in the growing number of seminars on extremism which have been springing up around the country. One such was a 3-day affair at the University of Oklahoma's Human Relations Center at which Baker appeared along with Columbia University's Alan Westin and Milton Ellerin from the staff of the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. ["Homefront", 5/67; p 8.]

All told, "Homefront" reports IAD's top officials or other staff members participated in about a dozen seminars on extremism during 1967 with more in store for 1968. They included an "Operation Humanity" in San Diego co-sponsored by the NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS and local P.T.A. - two seminars of the NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (one in Minneapolis in which IAD sponsor Norma Morrison joined IAD chairman Franklin Littell; the other in Washington, D.C.) - one at the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION convention in NYC - and one put on in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa under sponsorship of the First Presbyterian Church, the METHODIST COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL CONCERNS and the Freedom Institute of Dr. Littell's Iowa Wesleyan College. ["Homefront", 5/67, 9/67 and 12/67.]

- ° Press coverage. Generally speaking, IAD has received favorable and extensive coverage in the daily press, although occasionally a note of reportorial cynicism shows through. Stories about IAD's work and views also have appeared in such diverse media as *Senior Scholastic* magazine, *TV Guide*, the *Congressional Record* (Cong. James H. Scheuer, D-NY, CR 2/20/68, p E968) and "hundreds of religious, trade union and civic publications." ["Homefront", 11/67; p 6.] In one church-related instance, Dr. Littell appeared in a six-part series carried by a score of Protestant ecumenical publications. ["Homefront", 10/67; p 7.]

- ° Films. IAD acts as a clearinghouse for films on extremism. Most come from the same mix of national organizations supplying some of the publications which IAD distributes (cf p 14). However, IAD also rents a copy of the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY film, "Anarchy-USA" to "qualified" groups for \$35 accompanied by an IAD analysis of the film for use in conjunction with it. [Baker memo, "Confidential Background Reports on Radio and Reagan, 3/22/68; p 3.]

- ° Television. Among other TV appearances, IAD's Littell and Baker teamed up as commentators on the hour-long NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION program about Texas oil man, H. L. Hunt. This was one of a series produced by NTV on a number of businessmen and others identified by IAD and GROUP RESEARCH as Right-wing and extremist. Although Hunt protested to the newspapers that neither Littell nor Baker had been present when the program was filmed, "Homefront" reports with satisfaction that it was telecast four times to prime audiences nationwide. ["Homefront", 7-8/68; p 56.]

- ° Radio. IAD feels that the "only concentrated effort to sell an ideology over the airwaves comes from the Radical Right" ["Homefront", 9/67; p 1] and that "the very existence of the programs must tax the tolerance of the nation." [Ibid, p 3.] IAD efforts in this regard have occupied an increasing portion of its time since 1966 and derive their essential leverage from organized utilization of Federal Communications Commission regulations governing the broadcast industry to tie up the time and facilities of stations carrying offending broadcasts and in some instances to press revocation of their licenses. This is a pattern developed earlier by the AFL-CIO. It involves identification of target programs and radio personalities - local monitoring of stations carrying target broadcasts - local application of FCC regulations (especially the "Fairness Doctrine") to secure free equal time for contrasting views - local complaints to the FCC with copies to the national coordinator (in this case, IAD) for use in conjunction with other interested parties in pressures for license revocation and to get more teeth put in FCC regulations. Targets identified by IAD in 1967 ["How To Combat Air Pollution"; p 18] are compared on the following page with those set in 1963 by AFL-CIO public relations director Al Zack. ["The Machinist's Radio & TV Guide to AFL-CIO Programs", *The Machinist*, 8/22/63; programs & personalities identified as "anti-labor."]

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Program and personality

	IAD 1967	AFL-CIO 1963
American Freedom Network		+
America's Future - R. K. Scott	+	+
Bible Institute of the Air - C. W. Burpo	+	
Christian Crusade - Billy James Hargis	+	+
Church League of America - Edgar Bundy	+	+
Citizens Councils Forum		+
Commentary - Howard Kershner	+	
Congress Calling		+
Conservative Viewpoint - Richard Cotten	+	
Dan Smoot Reports - Dan Smoot	+	+
Freedom University of the Air		+
Human Events programs		+
Independent American - Kent Courtney	+	+
Life Line - Melvin Munn	+	+
Manion Forum - Clarence Manion	+	+
National Education Program, Harding College		+
National Right-to-Work Committee programs		+
Something to Think About - Rex Westerfield	+	
Straight Talk - Thomas Anderson	+	
20th Century Reformation Hour - Carl McIntire	+	+
The Velvet Curtain		+
Voice of Americanism - William Steuart McBirnie	+	

IAD has directed most of its fire at three of those listed above: Edgar Bundy, Billy James Hargis and Carl McIntire. As of June 1968, IAD could report [*"Homefront"*, 6/68; p 43] that 151 stations had dropped the McIntire broadcasts while Hargis had been dropped by 124. IAD radio activities are conducted with this sort of result in mind. They include:

(a) *work with groups and individuals monitoring target broadcasts.*

Monitoring local radio stations has become an important part of the activities of IAD's network of cooperating groups and individuals (cf, p 12). Beyond covering target broadcasts, monitors also watch for the appearance of target personalities as guests on other programs (panels, round tables, speeches, etc.) as well as for others carrying their "extremist" line. "Call in" programs are considered to be especially important all down the IAD line with national officers Littell and Baker averaging about once a month appearances on a call-in program during 1967 [*"Homefront"*, 11/67; p 6] while local IAD cooperators, backed by information from IAD and other national cooperating sources, used call-in program facilities to rebut local Right-wing views and even in some instances to disrupt programs by tying up incoming telephone lines. [IAD manual, *"How To Combat Air Pollution"*; p 15 - "Countering Extremists With One Finger". Also, *"Homefront"*, 4/67; p 6.]

It is at the local level, of course, that the *informed* individual can exert the greatest influence, although the perimeters of that influence, of course, are necessarily confined. In radio, IAD backs up its local cooperators with various types of information to give them an edge not only in bouts with their Right-wing counterparts, but also in their approach to local station management. IAD local back-up information for use in radio includes:

- information about how to operate:

IAD's basic working tool here is its 23-page manual on the FCC "Fairness Doctrine", *"How To Combat Air Pollution"*, published in 1967. Few laymen understand the relationship which exists between the broadcasting industry and the Federal Communications Commission, let alone the intricacies of the orders and opinions by which FCC regulates the nation's airwaves. Though FCC does not control rates in the broadcasting industry, it does decide who gets franchises for the limited number of AM, FM and TV channels which are available and every three years it reviews the status of each station's license to operate. Thus, what FCC has to say - whether as an order or simply as an opinion - is immensely important to broadcasting stations. One example is the FCC "Fairness Doctrine" which places a two-fold obligation on licensees to protect the public interest. The doctrine requires them to devote "a reasonable portion of broadcast time to the discussion and consideration of controversial issues of public importance" while at the same time being fair in doing so by making an affirmative endeavor "to make his facilities available for the expression of contrasting viewpoints held by responsible elements with respect to the controversial issues presented." [Appendix B, p 10426, Vol. 29, No. 145 Federal Register, cited in *"How To Combat Air Pollution"*, p 9.]

Intrinsically, the FCC "Fairness Doctrine" is a neutral statement which has been around a long time, which traditionally has allowed for considerable latitude in the interpretation of relative expressions like "reasonable" and "controversial" and which, prior to 1963, was mainly brought up in conjunction with broadcasts of a political nature. Its signal importance in IAD radio activities results from a concatenation of events which began to be felt publicly beginning in 1963. These involved changes of interpretation of the FCC "Fairness Doctrine". They also involved the organized application of the revised doctrine by the AFL-CIO (and those following its footsteps) as a means of countering its broadcast opposition.

In July, 1963 the FCC published Public Notice - B [FCC 63-734 38372]. This had the effect of announcing to broadcasters FCC's intention (a) to demand more stringent station compliance with their obligation to inform persons or organizations attacked on broadcasts "wherever located, either prior to or at the time of the broadcast" and to offer station facilities for reply, and (b) to apply the obligation more broadly to cover commentators and others taking a partisan position on issues involved in a political contest (worded broadly enough to include panel shows, guest interviews, etc.). The document further indicated an FCC concern that stations (c) should seek "the views of the leaders of the Negro and other community groups as to the issue of racial segregation, integration, or discrimination" and (d) should pay greater attention to the "substance" of programs or viewpoints "presented under the label of 'Americanism', 'anti-communism' or 'states' rights'" in determining their compliance with "Fairness Doctrine" obligations.

In August, 1963 the AFL-CIO's public relations director, Al Zack, called union attention to the practical significance of Public Notice - B as a tool to counter "known anti-labor programs." Appended to his comments as published by the INTNL. ASSN. OF MACHINISTS [*"The Machinist"*, 8/22/63, op. cit.] were these IAM observations: "Here are 16 propaganda programs known to be hostile to labor and to labor's objectives. Note their titles. If you hear one of them broadcast by a radio station or telecast by a TV station in your area, report this fact to a local IAM officer. Report the station, the date and time, the title of the program and the gist of the attack. IAM officers will pass your report on to the local central labor council and help conduct a full investigation."

Following this pattern, IAD's manual, *"How To Combat Air Pollution"*, is designed to equip its less formalized network of cooperators with a working knowledge of how to use the FCC and its revised "Fairness Doctrine" to maximum advantage with broadcast stations in their communities. It informs them of their rights under the

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"Fairness Doctrine" and FCC regulations. It gives them the proper steps and even the written form to follow in their contacts with station management. It tells them where to look for allies in their communities to back them up ("Protestant Churches affiliated with the National Council of Churches, the liberal Catholic community, Jewish organizations, librarians, teachers, trade union leaders, PTA leaders, Civil Rights leaders and the United Nations and its advocates..." [p 11]). It gives them the steps to follow if they fail to get satisfaction. It tells them how to contact the FCC and what evidence to demand from stations and collect themselves to validate their complaint. It tells them with whom they should share copies of their letters to maximize publicity. It gives them sources of "balancing" programs to use on the free air time they secure from stations (see below) as well as sources (see below) of further helpful information.

And, finally, IAD's basic manual acquaints its readers with a new FCC order (August 14, 1967) which puts real teeth into their monitoring efforts. The order puts a time limit of "one week after the attack" (emphasis IAD's) for stations to live up to their "Fairness Doctrine" obligations. Failure to do so, IAD emphasizes, "...means that a station...can be fined up to \$500 a day up to a maximum of \$10,000 for each attack." [p 23.] This is pretty heady encouragement for those carrying out the monitoring campaign. Few local radio stations could stand that kind of penalty, even once.

- information about people and groups:

Fact sheets on targeted personalities are frequently carried in "Homefront". In depth information is sometimes carried in IAD special memoranda. Beyond this, IAD has open access to the extensive personal and group files of GROUP RESEARCH, INC., and also, presumably, can call upon the equally extensive research facilities of the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE. This information is not only extremely useful in contacts with station management and/or in rebutting target personalities and programs, it is also useful in interesting community allies in back-up efforts.

- information about issues:

"How To Combat Air Pollution" lists the following [pp 19, 20] as sources of information for use in conjunction with the monitoring campaign: FCC, UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, COPE, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, and the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE.

- provision of programs presenting "balancing" views:

IAD's manual lists three such sources at the national level: the Department of Communications of the United Church of Christ, the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE and IAD itself. [p 19.] In "Homefront" and elsewhere, IAD has recommended in particular the United Church of Christ's 5-min. series, "Extremism '67", produced jointly with the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, and also a subsequent joint endeavor, "Let's Be Friends", 40 5-min. spots obtainable free on plastic discs by stations writing to the United Church of Christ's Communications Office in NYC. ["Homefront", 4/68; p. 22.] IAD itself has produced a taped 15-min. radio program, "Contrasting Viewpoint". The program gives background information on the FCC "Fairness Doctrine" and has been offered free to radio stations carrying the Carl McIntire broadcasts. ["Homefront", 10/67; p 7.]

(b) work with other groups at the national level aimed at revoking the licenses of certain stations and at strengthening FCC regulations.

It is in this area that IAD's activities have brought it into confrontation with the combined forces of the broadcasting, advertising and tobacco industries. In the



It Can't Happen Here!

Or Can It?

NOTE: Pages 27-30 are a photographic reproduction, slightly reduced, of a fund appeal flyer distributed by the Institute for American Democracy during the 1st Quarter, 1968.

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Extremists Imperil Our Cher

Salesmen of the Radical Right



Robert Welch

**CHRISTIAN
CRUSADE**



Carl McIntire

KU KLUX KLAN



Fred Schwarz

**CHRISTIAN
ANTI-COMMUNIST
CRUSADE**



Clarence Manion

**JOHN BIRCH
SOCIETY**



Billy James Hargis

**20TH CENTURY
REFORMATION
HOUR**



General Edwin Walker

LIFE LINE



H. L. Hunt

MINUTEMEN



Dan Smoot

Big Money makes Radical Right A Big Business

The right wing raised and spent between \$40 and \$50 million in 1966, according to Group Research (Nov. 30, 1967). Following are among the most heavily financed far right organizations, according to latest available figures, mostly 1966.

Targets of the

*National Council
of Churches
(Protestant)*

*The Presidency
LBJ IKE JFK*

"And in every case the administration, whether headed by Eisenhower, or Johnson, has been visibly and active side of the Communist aggressors."

interest of countering the influence of Right-wing broadcasts, IAD and its allies have triggered a chain of events having immensely broader consequences. What began in 1963 as essentially a tactical maneuver using FCC's "Fairness Doctrine" as a means to rebut targeted broadcasts and to exert pressure otherwise on Right-wing station management has become, by 1969, a legal contest of prime national importance involving the whole concept of free speech on the nation's airwaves. In the words of IAD ["Homefront", 6/68; p 40]:

"The major networks, the tobacco industry and the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS are trying to take over the assault on the Fairness Doctrine launched by the hate broadcasters. The networks are trying to deny the FCC the right to protect the public interest in the *content* of kilocycles on First Amendment (Free Speech) grounds." [Emphasis and capitalization added.]

This month (or possibly next) attorneys for CBS, NBC and the RADIO-TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION will face attorneys for FCC's Broadcast Bureau and the U.S. Department of Justice in concurrent Supreme Court hearings of two cases brought on "Fairness Doctrine" grounds to determine whether the Federal Communications Commission is constitutionally empowered to regulate the *content* of what is said on the air beyond setting and arbitrating the conditions under which it is said. Supporting the proposition that the FCC is so empowered will be the Department of Communications of the United Church of Christ, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, AFL-CIO, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION and possibly a couple of other national organizations through amici curiae briefs. The trail leading to this point is a long and difficult one to follow, filled with legal corkscrew turns. For purposes of clarification, it may be divided into two periods: 1963-1966; 1967-1969. Since 1966 when IAD appeared, its function has been this: "IAD has logged more time on more stations rebutting personal attacks than any other organization, and IAD's Fairness Doctrine manual (50 cents) has been used all over the nation by individuals and groups filing personal attack complaints." ["Homefront", 6/68; p 42.]

1963-1966: This was a period of mounting background pressures most of which already have been sufficiently described (pp 15-18). Organized efforts centered around the FCC "Fairness Doctrine" were aimed primarily at a limited number of Right-wing broadcasts and the effect was noticeable mainly in local confrontations. While the "Fairness Doctrine" was revised and stiffened during the period, it remained essentially a body of FCC opinion rather than having the force of law. The broadcast industry and advertisers generally seemed oblivious to the controversy even though its potential ramifications were spelled out at the time. (As, for instance, a letter and annotated copy of FCC Public Notice - B mailed to radio and TV stations in August, 1963 by a group calling itself the TUCSON CITIZENS FOR FREEDOM. This warned against precisely the situation in which the networks and major advertisers now find themselves at a time when relatively little effort could have produced relatively significant results. Before condemning the networks for lack of foresight, it should be remembered that their relations with FCC were different at the time, the Right-wing broadcasts then involved were of only tangential interest, and what key executive on Madison Avenue in NYC could be expected to pay much attention, after all, to a group in Arizona calling itself TUCSON CITIZENS FOR FREEDOM?)

Be that as it may, this period of background pressures laid the basis for the litigational infighting at the national level which has occurred since 1967. During the period a number of court cases were undertaken on "Fairness Doctrine" grounds. One involved KTYM, Los Angeles, undertaken by the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE. Two more involved the sister stations - WXUR in Media and WGCB in Red Lion, Pennsylvania - spearheaded by the Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches, Pennsylvania AFL-CIO and local chapters of the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, URBAN LEAGUE, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, NAACP and CATHOLIC COMM. REL. COUNCIL (sic.). ["Homefront", 10/67, p 1;

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4/68, p 27.] IAD's Charles Baker was subpoenaed by FCC in the WXUR case to testify on how the station handled personal attacks on IAD and IAD rebuttals. The WGCB case was later to become the most celebrated of them all.

Still another case undertaken at the time was brought against WLBT-TV, Jackson, Miss., by the United Church of Christ's Office of Communication, headed by Dr. Everett C. Parker, whose in-depth monitoring and related radio-TV efforts were aided by a \$160,000 Ford Foundation grant in 1968. ["Homefront", 3/68; p 18.] Here the issue was not "radical Right extremism" but fair treatment of the American Negro, with the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION later intervening on the church group's side.

All of these cases shared certain common characteristics. They sought to establish a legal precedent wherein failure of a station to live up to its then voluntary obligations under the "Fairness Doctrine" would cost it its license to operate. The FCC was thus cast with the stations in the role of defense. To date, not a single case of this sort has had the effect sought by the plaintiffs.

1967-1969: Three events occurred during 1967 which elevated the "Fairness Doctrine" controversy to its present level of national importance.

- The FCC elevated the "Fairness Doctrine" to the status of a Commission rule by establishing enforcement penalties (p 18).
- The FCC applied the balancing program aspects of the "Fairness Doctrine" to cigarette commercials, requiring stations thereafter to carry free balancing spots on the evils of smoking.
- The management of WGCB (p 19) instituted its own suit to test the constitutionality of the "Fairness Doctrine" as an instrument to regulate the content of broadcasting.

This combination of events shifted the emphasis of the "Fairness Doctrine" legal controversy, greatly broadened its implications and, in the WGCB case at least, altered the line-up of contending forces. Groups previously putting pressure on FCC to revoke the licenses of stations charged with failure to live up to their "Fairness Doctrine" obligations now swung behind the FCC in support of the right of the government to regulate the content of the airwaves to protect the public interest. The major networks, CBS and NBC, previously aloof to the "Fairness Doctrine" controversy, now swung behind WGCB as amici curiae, contending that regulation of this sort was an infringement on free speech and unconstitutional. Moreover, when the First Circuit Court of Appeals (Wash., DC) later in the year upheld the FCC in the WGCB case, the two major networks launched their own case in Chicago to test the constitutionality of the "Fairness Doctrine" on First Amendment (free speech) grounds. They were joined by the RADIO-TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION (RTNDA). Not unexpectedly they were opposed by the United Church of Christ's Department of Communication which took the lead in submitting amici curiae brief for a number of religious groups. This time, however, the Circuit Court's ruling was in favor of the networks and against the FCC.

These are the two cases - WGCB, Red Lion, and RTNDA, Chicago - which the U. S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear concurrently on appeal this month or possibly in April: two cases with opposite court rulings. What began unheralded back in 1963 as an effort by a small group of organizations to make the FCC "Fairness Doctrine" a "living document" ["Homefront", 6/68; p 42] to counter an even smaller group of "radical Right extremists" in broadcasting now involves the free speech of the nation. And, regardless of the outcome in the Supreme Court hearings, IAD points

out ["Homefront", 2/69; p 9]: "...a whole series of other precedent-setting actions are in the legal pipeline. The combined impact of these will alter the entire pattern of regulatory activities by the traditionally docile FCC." Among them:

- More court action to secure more anti-smoking spots. As previously, this is being spearheaded by John Banzhaf III, a 27 year old lawyer whose challenge to the tobacco industry is strikingly reminiscent of Ralph Nader's famous charge against GM. Banzhaf is executive director of ASH (ACTION ON SMOKING AND HEALTH, NYC) which in November, 1968 was seeking \$100,000 "to pay the legal costs involved in protecting \$50,000,000 of free anti-smoking broadcast time every year." [ASH ltr., 11/4/68.] Interestingly enough, IAD's executive director, Charles R. Baker is a sponsor of the organization.
- Further on the smoking front, an FCC vote of 6 to 1 earlier this month to recommend an outright ban on cigarette advertising on television and radio. The proposal would have to be approved by Congress
- Should the Supreme Court rule the "Fairness Doctrine" constitutional, possible action to expand its application to other controversial product areas - such as forcing radio and TV stations "to run warnings on the health hazards of beer drinking as well as smoking." [C. R. Baker, "Homefront", 1-2/68; p 11.]
- Moves to diversify the ownership of news media. Involved is FCC's transfer of the license of WHDH-TV, Boston, from the Boston Herald-Traveler Corp. to a competing applicant. If the move stands in court, IAD points out ["Homefront", 2/69; p 10]: "...the door would be open for civic groups to challenge the license of hundreds of radio and TV stations whose owners also control other media."
- Continued efforts by IAD and its allies - particularly in the WXUR and WLBT-TV cases (pp 19,20) - to secure the precedent of an FCC denial of license renewal to a station for failing to live up to its "Fairness Doctrine" obligations.

IAD - Summary and Conclusions

Psychologically, and because there are so many other things to do, it is very difficult for those in positions of decision-making responsibility to re-examine practices which have worked well in the past and still appear to be doing so. This is as true in public affairs as in any other field. Practical political professionals have as much difficulty assessing the potentialities of New Politics as practical public affairs professionals in assessing the potential of groups like IAD. Business needs to take the experience of the broadcasting, advertising and tobacco industries to heart. Business needs to take a fresh look at pressure group relations in their modern context.

There has been a revolution in public affairs since WW II derived from technological communications breakthroughs coupled with the expansion of federal interest and intervention into areas hitherto untouched. This has tended to alter the substance of public affairs relations while leaving the framework outwardly untouched. Today, a small group with a few prestigious names and sufficient money can exercise influence on a given issue out of all proportion to genuine public concern. Thus, pressure groups have increased in relative importance to lobbying and other tested practices in their impact on legislative attitudes.

This is especially true - as has been increasingly the case since WW II - when elements in the private sector are working together in coalitions, in areas which do not trigger immediate and substantial response, and against the backdrop of favoring developments in the public sector. Like IAD and its allies. From a tempest in

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a teapot just a few short years ago, IAD and its allies have progressed to a U.S. Supreme Court hearing which vitally affects the broadcasting, advertising and tobacco industries, to say nothing of the free speech guarantees of the First Amendment.

Thus, it should become apparent that the yardsticks commonly used by business to evaluate outside groups are insufficient in cases like the IAD. Presently, such yardsticks are too narrowly tied to immediate and individual company interests. Too much reliance is placed on what others are doing in corporate support. Because too little basic research has been done on the nature, strategy and tactics of forces opposing private enterprise (except for unions and politics where plenty has been done), there is an overwhelming business tendency to accept or reject groups purely on the basis of their stated aims or familiarity with their sponsors, with little or no consideration to the public affairs side-effects of group actions. Technical corporate support considerations like size of staff and fund-raising practices are totally irrelevant to the situation.

IAD is what it says and does: the rest is superficial.

Unfortunately for the broadcasting, advertising and tobacco industries today - and business generally tomorrow - *understanding* what IAD says and does requires a knowledge of long-term public affairs trends development which few in business now possess.

(a) What IAD says:

What IAD says clearly puts it in the camp of democratic socialism even though the subject is not raised in IAD materials. IAD's is that brand of democratic socialist thought, heavily influenced by the British Fabians, which one finds in groups like the LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY [Spcl. Rpt. #2, esp. pp 5-8] and AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION [Spcl. Rpt. #3; esp. pp 18-20.]. IAD's democratic socialist perspective reveals itself most clearly in how IAD defines the extreme Left and extreme Right in establishing its own "middle ground" position.

According to IAD the extreme Left consists "primarily of persons believing in some interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., some brand of Communism. U.S. Communists generally come under one of four categories: Soviet, Maoist, Trotskyist, and Independent. Most do not favor reforms, but aim to overthrow the American system of government, replacing it with a Marxian system." [J. H. George, "Homefront", 5/68; p 32.] Included by IAD in the Independent sector among groups are the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) and the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. [Ibid.]

Notably absent from IAD's list of extreme Left groups - and correctly so under IAD's definition - are democratic socialist elements like the LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY (from which SDS, of course, evolved [p 10, Spcl. Rpt. #2]) or the SOCIALIST PARTY, USA. These believe in an *evolutionary* approach within the framework of democratic institutions aimed at replacing American capitalism with a system based on their own brand of pragmatic, permissive and revisionist Marxism.

IAD says that the extreme Right consists of a potpourri of groups dominated by reactionary, anti-labor businessmen and frustrated, anti-democratic military figures whose combination inspires the threat of Nazism and fascism in the U.S.A. (Cf, pp 4-9.) This is also a typically democratic socialist point of view which is further exemplified by IAD's persistent under-emphasis on danger from the extreme Left and over-emphasis on danger from the extreme Right - as, for example (p 5.), IAD's condemnation of the extreme Right for promoting "a preoccupation with 'communism'" which may preclude "any effort to work out a rapprochement with the Russians, let alone the Chinese."

Compare this IAD perspective with views in the LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY [Spcl. Rpt. #2, esp. pp 15,16,23] and AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION [Spcl. Rpt. #3, esp. pp 15-17] and the affinity will immediately become apparent. Compare it also with the viewpoint of British Socialists described by author John Braine in the *N.Y. Times* [NY Times Magazine, Pt. I, 3/2/69; p 24ff, "Why One British Socialist Turned Conservative."]:

"(Socialism) was all so splendidly lucid; it was only necessary to understand that Left was good and Right was bad. Communism was, of course, on the extreme Left, and Fascism (which by about 1942 naturally included National Socialism) on the extreme Right."

To which Braine adds: "There can rarely have been in any society a more inaccurate way of delineating political differences."

(b) What IAD does:

What IAD does by itself is not as important as what it does in coalition with others. And what IAD does in coalition with others needs to be set in the context of the movement of which all of them are a part in order for its significance to business generally to be appraised. Here a few quotations will have to serve as milestones on a road now 8 years old. They stretch from a strategic theory expressed by Communist leader, Gus Hall, to the attitudes of U.S. congressmen. The quotations are presented only to outline the time sequence involved in the development of the movement and the continuity of a number of expressed ideas. Nothing further is intended nor should be inferred. In particular, CRI has no intention of impugning the character or motives of those associated with IAD or other groups involved at this late stage of the anti-extremist campaign by inclusion of the Gus Hall quote. CRI is convinced they are genuinely anti-Communist and genuinely concerned for the public welfare according to their lights. What CRI is interested in is the osmosis of ideas leading to a result. Providing the quotations are genuine (and this may easily be substantiated) and providing CRI has not drawn false inferences from what it has selected to quote and its juxtaposition of the quotes (this, too, may be appraised independently but will take more time), what is the potential result of such a movement on the interests of CRI clients and the nation?

The comments by Gus Hall which follow appeared originally in a long strategic appraisal entitled "For People's Unity Against Big Business Reaction and War Danger" published for discussion and comment among U.S. Communists by *The Worker*, 7/16/61. It was subtitled "The Ultra Right, Kennedy, and the Role of the Progressives." The strategic goal expressed was to encourage U.S. policies seeking some form of accommodation with the socialist world while turning back those policies which sought to contain and reverse world trends by all means, including nuclear warfare. Hall defined the "Ultra Right" as "an organized movement of the fascist type, financed by the most chauvinist and aggressive sectors of Big Business" which was exerting a warlike pull upon the Kennedy Administration. This should be the main target for attack, he said, through "united front activity in all fields by the Left and progressive forces, Communist and non-Communist" for the purpose of "building up the pressures upon the Administration for a change in policy in the direction of peaceful co-existence and defense of democracy." Hall said [emphasis added]:

"To make the proper differentiation between Kennedy and the ultra-Right is the central tactical problem faced by the entire Left.... If the tactical problem is to be solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-Right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the Administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy."

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"It is my hope that all elements and currents of the Left will set such a movement in motion and that in their publications and organizations discussions of this kind should proceed. I am confident that once this is set in motion, it will grow and spread with a speed and depth that will surprise all of us."

"These elements can become an effective positive force once they realize it is necessary to fight Kennedy's cold war and anti-democratic policies in order to defend democracy and to close the door to the extreme Right and defeat the threat from that direction."

Gus Hall, in short, was urging U.S. Communists to bend their efforts in 1961 toward setting in motion - not seeking to control - a united front thrust by all elements of the Left to force U.S. policies toward accommodation with the Socialist bloc. The device recommended for bridging the divisive gap between U.S. Communists and their non-Communist and anti-Communist Left-wing counterparts was the widely-held fear of fascism from the "Ultra-Right" along with related antagonism to forces which seek to bolster private enterprise, which "equate social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism" and which press for a foreign policy oriented toward victory over Communism. Broken down and translated into components of this sort, the strategic self-interests of the Communists become obscure. The political result hoped for by Hall was "an independent electoral policy...around which broader peace and democratic forces can be mobilized" in the elections of 1962 and 1964.

A second "milestone" document also appeared in 1961, this time originating in the non-Communist Left. This is the so-called "Reuther memorandum", a document of much more immediate significance to the movement of which IAD has been a part.

The "Reuther memorandum" was written by Victor Reuther and delivered by his brother, UAW president Walter Reuther, to then Attorney General Robert Kennedy on 12/19/61. [D. Janson & B. Eismann, *The Far Right*, McGraw-Hill, 1963; p 227.] In this document the "radical right" is expanded to include "an unknown number of millions of Americans of viewpoints bounded on the left by Senator Goldwater and on the right by Robert Welch." [Reuther memo., para. 3, underlining added.] Stating that the "radical right" constitutes a threat to the "President's program at home and abroad", the document makes a number of broad proposals for "deliberate Administration policies and programs to contain the radical right from further expansion and in the long run to reduce it to its historic role of the impotent lunatic fringe." [Ibid, paras. 10 & 11.] These include "affirmative Administration policies" to eliminate radical right influences in the military, dry up sources of radical right funds, counter FBI Director Hoover's overemphasis of the threat of domestic Communism and, interestingly enough among other specifics, Federal Communications Commission "measures to encourage stations to assign comparable time for an opposing point of view on a free basis." [Ibid, para. 28.] Against the backdrop of programs and policies like these in the public sector the "Reuther memorandum" calls upon "press, television, church, labor, civic, political and other groups" in the private sector "to identify and expose the radical right." Indeed, says the memo, "in the long run the extent of participation by private agencies in this struggle is more likely to determine its outcome than anything the Government can do." [Ibid, para. 11, fn.] Accompanying the memorandum when it was delivered to the Attorney General's office was a note from Walter Reuther which said in part: "...this is not a problem that can be swept under a rug." [Janson & Eismann, *op. cit.*, p 230.]

What direct influence the "Reuther memorandum" had on federal attitudes and policies toward Right-wing extremism is a matter of speculation. The authors cited above report that the document "was read by key members of the administration and circulated to sympathetic congressmen" though no formal action was taken on it. [Janson & Eismann, *op. cit.*; p 230.] As late as 1963, on the other hand, the Attorney General's office denied this had been done. [Ltr., A.F. Oehmann to Hon. J.E. Roush, 11/15/63.]

About all one can say with certainty is that anti-radical-Right pressures from the public sector have become increasingly visible since 1962 and that, coincidentally or not, such pressures in many respects have paralleled proposals made by the "Reuther memorandum."

In the private sector, though, the relationship is more obvious with Walter Reuther providing key leadership in the initial stages of the exposure campaign. And it is equally obvious that the key element at this stage was the INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT of the AFL-CIO over which Walter Reuther then presided. And of all the anti-Right wing measures which IUD helped set in motion at the time, none was of greater importance than the establishment of GROUP RESEARCH, INC., in early 1962. This operation, established first on a not for profit, educational basis in Washington, D.C., combined the political and writing talents of Wesley McCune (formerly of the NATIONAL FARMERS UNION) with the research expertise of persons like Dr. George Rucker (resigned from GRI in 1968) to collect and supply data on the Far Right which was then distributed by the INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT to IUD presidents and secretary-treasurers, legislative representatives, research directors, education directors, editors and political education directors and also circulated to selected journalists, legislators, organization directors and others having sympathetic views. By operating in the background to multiply the ability of others to communicate on a subject not many of them knew much about, GROUP RESEARCH became the backbone of the anti-Radical-Right campaign. IAD's predecessor, the 1964 NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY, would have been a hollow shell without GROUP RESEARCH. IAD still draws upon it. So do other groups identified earlier in the pages of this report. So, indeed, did the Democratic Party by 1965 and 1966 as illustrated by the quotes below.

"The Democratic National Committee receives a constant flow of mail from Democrats in all parts of the country on activities of the John Birch Society and others of the Radical Right and asking for our help. So far as possible we have tried to provide this help. But to do so we have had to depend heavily on the only national research organization that has systematically kept track of the activities of the Radical Right and has readily available the information on individuals and organizations that is so essential to combatting their activities. This organization is Group Research, Inc....you may want to give serious consideration to subscribing to the newsletter, and perhaps the other services that are available. It is our experience, and that of others, that you will find them extremely valuable in countering Right Wing activities." [Ltr., J.M. Bailey, Chmn., Democratic National Committee, 8/3/65.]

"Glacier National Park, Mont., Aug. 27 - The Democratic strategy in tying Ronald Reagan's campaign to the John Birch Society was described for a party meeting here today by one of the leaders in Gov. Edmund G. Brown's campaign....The first stage of this program, said Mr. (Roger) Kent, was a report on the John Birch Society prepared for Alan Cranston, the California Controller, and released on July 28....In the statement Mr. Cranston...said that 'anti-Semitism and racism, intentional or inadvertent, abound at all levels' of the John Birch Society. ...Mr. Kent said the second stage of the attack on Mr. Reagan's Birch Society connections was a statement made by Robert L. Coate, California Democratic State Central Committee chairman, in Los Angeles and San Francisco on Aug. 11. Mr. Kent said that most of the material used in the Coate statement had come from the files of Group Research, Inc.... Wesley McCune, its director, was a member of the panel with Mr. Kent." [N.Y. Times, 8/28/66, underlining added.]

By 1966 the anti-Radical-Right line also had become ingrained in the liberal wing of the Republican Party and in journals oriented in that direction, as may be seen from this excerpt from a *Life* editorial [5/20/66] entitled pungently, "Rowdies and Dowdies of the Right":

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"That descriptive epithet has been applied to the National Federation of Republican Women and the Young Republican National Federation. Meetings of the Young Republicans have broken up in power-plays and fist-fights more reminiscent of the German beer halls of the '30s than of the Grand Old Party and some members have been tabbed 'grey-flanneled Hell's Angels.' The ladies restrain themselves to verbal hair-pulling, but between them the two groups inhabit a never-never land far to the right of Barry Goldwater." [Underlining added.]

Finally, we have this statement from a former Republican congressman and good friend of private enterprise which rather sums things up [Donald C. Bruce, "Inside Outlook", *Success*, 8/67, emphasis added]:

"What has happened that has dampened the fervor of the Right? There is no single answer that covers the entire problem but I suspect the *left liberal propaganda attack equating 'kooks' with conservatism has taken its toll*. My personal experience over the last couple of years seems to indicate that some of our most articulate conservatives are inclined to see 'kooks' under every bed. *Subconsciously they may be placing the comfort of political 'respectability' above the willingness to be controversial.*

"I know this is particularly true of some of my closest friends in the House of Representatives. They are still as conservative as ever, but *lacking the balance of honest representation in the daily press media*, they choose to avoid the limelight of controversy that marked the era of the early sixties."

This statement indicates one consequence of the anti-extremist movement in which IAD has played a part. The plight of the broadcasting, advertising and tobacco industries (pp 20,21) indicates another. But to sense the deeper significance of the anti-extremist movement, it is necessary to put it in an even broader context: the political ferment and polarization of our time. This raises substantive questions for Americans of all persuasions - IAD and its allies included.

IAD says (and CRI concedes) that it is anti-Communist. IAD's main thrust, though, is against the Right. Suppose the Right can be successfully reduced to political impotence. What does this do to IAD's ability to contest Communism? What happens to IAD when it becomes the "Radical Right"?

IAD and its allies seek to vest authority to regulate the *content* of broadcasting in the Federal Communications Commission. What does this do to IAD's own freedom to express its views? What happens should IAD's enemies end up controlling the regulatory mechanism IAD helped set in place?

As illustrated by the 1968 IAD flyer which follows, the anti-extremist movement carries forward the theme of an "Ultra Right" threat to democracy in almost precisely the terms defined by the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA in 1961. True, CPUSA had a different motive. CPUSA raised the specter of the "Ultra Right" as a trigger to set in motion *"all elements and currents of the Left"* toward establishing *"an independent electoral policy...around which broader peace and democratic forces can be mobilized"* in order to force a shift in U.S. policy from one of "containment" to one of "accommodation". In view of what has happened since - including mobs roaming Chicago streets last August yelling, "The streets belong to the people...peace now...up against the wall, Mayor Daly!" [NY Times, 8/30/68] - can anyone deny this Communist goal has been advanced? In the long run, then, despite differences in motives, *who ends up exploiting whom* in the anti-extremist ring-around-the-rosey?

After accommodation - what?

- Communications Research, Inc.

From the July-Aug. issue of *Homefront*

The time has come for all Americans to ask: Does this plan have anything to do with six recent decisions of The Supreme Court?

SOVIET PLANS FOR THE USA - SURRENDER OR DIE BY 1975
(as extracted from official Senate Document No. 14-11th Congress - 1st Session)

Full-page ad, run in *The Wall Street Journal* by Constructive Action, Inc., cost \$15,611.04.

J. Edgar Hoover...

"Too often I have seen cases where loyal and patriotic but misguided Americans have thought they were 'fighting Communism' by slapping the label of 'Red' or 'Communist' on anybody who happened to be different from them or to have ideas with which they did not agree. Sins, character assassination, and the scattering of irresponsible charges have no place in this Nation. They create division, suspicion, and distrust among loyal Americans—just what the Communists want—and hinder rather than aid the fight against Communism."—*Masters of Deceit*. J. Edgar Hoover.

MR. ANDREWS (Cong. Mark Andrews, R-N.D.). "In this week's *Newsweek* there is an article in 'The Periscope' saying, 'New TACTICS by the Birchers. The John Birch Society plans to expand its nationwide campaign to link the civil-rights movement and communism. The Society already is supporting some 454 local TACT (Truth About Civil Turmoil) committees, which use booklets, films and public speakers (usually billed as ex-FBI undercover agents) to spread their word. Current TACT strongholds: California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Idaho and Colorado.'

"This looks like more or less a deliberate attempt on the part of an extremist organization to capitalize on the high regard in which the FBI is held."

MR. HOOVER. "It is an improper attempt to capitalize on the name of the FBI."

MR. ANDREWS. "In other words, this certainly does not indicate what it would mean to the average American, that the 'ex-FBI undercover agents' are so frustrated in their work in the Agency that they leave and sign up with extremist organizations in order to try to protect America."

MR. HOOVER. "Nor does it indicate in any way condone the use of the name 'ex-FBI undercover agent' in such endeavors."—1968 FBI Appropriation Report to The House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

Schwarz Snorts

For years, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, the Australian psychiatrist, kept a jump ahead of his critics. His anti-Communism schools attracted movie stars and Senators, and one rally in Hollywood reportedly grossed \$3½ million.

Now his reputation often precedes him. When he came to Washington in 1964, his "school" played to a capacity house of 500, but community leaders had a chance to learn about it and circulated information.

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CAI Goes to School - And Wall Street



PHILBRICK

Constructive Action, Inc., is busy and, apparently, feeling no financial squeeze these days. It cost the group more than \$15,000 for an ad in the *Wall Street Journal's* national edition (see illustration at left) and the ad appeared in other WSJ editions, as well as other newspapers.

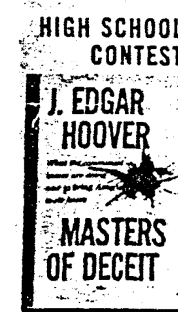
CAI also sponsored the \$15,520 "Masters of Deceit" essay contest for high school juniors and seniors. Ex-FBI agent Herbert Philbrick of CAI promoted the contest money in a letter to members.

The ad implies that six recent decisions of the Supreme Court—including the ban on school prayer and the Miranda Decision—are somehow connected with a "Soviet Plan" for the USA to "surrender or die by 1975."

Operating now from 7946 Ivanhoe Ave., La Jolla, Calif., CAI was incorporated under California law as a non-profit organization in 1963, with M.W. Brainard as president; Dr. Frank A. Rogers, Whittier, Calif., surgeon, vice president; and Walter Knott, then-treasurer of the Liberty Amendment Committee (to repeal the income tax) on the Board of Trustees.

Its stated purpose: "to provide the American public with educational materials alerting them to the threat of socialist and communist inroads in our American institutions and to the erosion of our personal freedoms by the advocates of the welfare state."

Phillip Luce's book, "The Road to Revolution: Communism: Guerrilla Warfare in the U.S.," may also be obtained from CAI.



Essay question-and-answer contest based on the Hoover book was also sponsored by Constructive Action, Inc.



SCHWARZ

With a bushy, drooping mustache, sideburns, long wavy strawberry hair and a wide paisley tie, one-time extreme Leftist (Progressive Labor Party member)—turned extreme Rightist—Phillip A. Luce told his audience all about the New Left: SNCC, the W.E.B. duBois Club, the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society. He also assured them that, appearances to the contrary, he is not now a Communist. Members of the Young Americans for Freedom in the audience laughed.

Among the Schwarz pearls: "Abolition of racism and nationalism are Communist objectives." "There is not an equality of evil. Some governments are bad; others are worse."

"The Government is not an educational organization." The sounds were familiar but the crowd size wasn't.

[May, 1956]

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY -- Speech by Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss) on the floor of the Senate.

TREASON IN A WAR THAT IS "COLD"

Mr. President, this is May 1956. We in the United States Senate, in our deliberations, have been watching the deterioration of opposition to Communism in the Far East. As Chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee, I have had to listen to testimony now for a long time about how American citizens working in a tightly-knit conspiracy have been doing everything in their power to bring Soviet power into Asia. They have lent their pens and voices to the Soviet world propaganda apparatus with a villainy that is almost inconceivable to decent Americans. They have participated in anti-American demonstrations of every kind, on the air, on platform and in the press throughout Asia. They have falsely accused their own countrymen of the most reprehensible misconduct. They have provided the tools for the brainwashing of American prisoners of war. And at least one of them, as I am about to show, took a leading part in the actual Sovietization of Chinese peasants.

One witness, a good American, told us that the activities of these renegades would have a most disastrous effect in China.

"It would give (the Chinese) the impression that the people of the United States were pro-Communist and were held down from expressing their pro-Communism by the imperialistic government in Washington," he said. "It tended to destroy the hope or minimize the hope in the hearts of many, many Chinese, the hope for liberation, the hope for freedom."

In the course of all this testimony, I have frequently wondered about the application of an important section of our Constitution which defines treason against these United States.

Section 3 of Article III of the Constitution says:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No persons shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

"2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason. . . ."

I think we in Congress have not pursued this mandate of the Constitution sufficiently in terms of present realities. I think that we should analyze the activity of those American citizens who have, even during a period of war, adhered to our enemies and have given aid and comfort. I also think that we in Congress, particularly those of us on the Internal Security Subcommittee, should do a great deal toward casting the evidence concerning Communist activity that we have obtained into the mold of this section and article of the Constitution. I believe that the recent indictment of three people who appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee--John W. Powell, Sylvia Powerr and Julian Schuman--is a step in that direction.

When I speak of present realities, I refer, of course, to that new kind of international conflict, the cold war. When the Constitution was drawn, war was conducted by hostile armies marching across borders. Enemies were the members of those hostile armies. But the cold war is not quite like that. As the Senator from Indiana pointed out some time ago,

"Communist subversion is a net, woven in Moscow and stretched from country to country all around the world."

We all know that, Mr. President. All three branches of the United States Government have found that American Communism is a conspiracy to overthrow our Government by force and violence. They have found that this conspiracy is directed from Moscow. They have found that the participants in the conspiracy, regardless of their nationality, have no loyalty except to Moscow.

-la-

Consider the case of Klaus Fuchs, the man who gave Moscow the secrets of the atomic bomb. He had been a Communist in Germany and a Communist in England. His name was found among the documents which were seized when the Canadian Government struck at the Communist conspiracy in Ottawa. He handed over the atomic secrets to an American Communist on an American street corner. The American Communist saw to it that those secrets reached the hands of his Russian masters in the Kremlin.

Consider another notorious Kremlin operation, the Sorge conspiracy in Asia. Sorge himself was a native-born German but his only loyalty was to the Communist international, which he served. His Red lieutenants were Chinese, Japanese, British, Belgian and American.

The President of the United States recognized the realities, when he said,

"What did this penetration into Government mean? It meant contamination in some degree of virtually every department, every agency, every bureau, every section of our Government. It meant a Government by men whose very brains were confused by the opiate of this deceit. These men were advisers in a foreign policy that -- on one side of the world -- weakly bowed before the triumph in China of Communists hailed as 'agrarian reformers.' On the other side of the world this policy condoned the surrender of whole nations to an implacable enemy whose appetite for conquest sharpened with every victory. This penetration meant a domestic policy whose tone was set by men who sneered and scoffed at warnings of the enemy infiltrating our most secret counsels.

"It meant -- in its most ugly triumph -- treason itself."

Mr. President, the cold war against the United States was declared in the Kremlin nearly forty years ago. It has been waged against us ceaselessly ever since. I ask Senators to think in terms of these realities, as we consider legislation to implement the Constitutional definition of treason.

I know of no better way to illustrate these realities than by outlining the story of William Hinton, whose testimony the Subcommittee releases today.

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On July 6, 1953, William Howard Hinton walked into the American consulate at Prague, Czechoslovakia, and asked for a passport application. He was a former OWI and UNRRA worker who had gone to China nearly seven years before and remained there after the Communists conquered the mainland. His UNRRA passport had long since expired, and to get out of Red China he had obtained an exit permit, which got him across the Soviet Union and into Communist Czechoslovakia. Now, he wanted a document which would give him entry to the United States.

The application which was handed to him contained the following words:
 "I (have) ...accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or
 (have not)
 employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof."

Hinton, or someone in the consulate, typed over the word "have" and added some additional phrases, so that the application read, "I have not accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof, unless employment as agricultural technician on the Chuang Chiao State Farm, Tunghien, Hopei, China, may be interpreted as coming under any of the above provisions." He reaffirmed this statement on another page of the application, declaring, "I have never accepted" employment under a foreign government, "unless the above mentioned " Shuang Chiao State Farm job were held to be such.

Hinton swore that the statements quoted here were "true." He further swore to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic" and to "bear true faith and allegiance to same." So he was given the passport which got him back to America.

Subsequently, Hinton made several appearances before the Subcommittee on Internal Security. On one of these occasions, he was being examined by the junior Senator from Idaho.

Senator Welker. Did you tell the passport division over there... the truth on your application?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that (on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments).

Senator Welker. Did you lie to the passport division in Prague in order to get back to the United States of America?

Mr. Hinton. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

In his first appearance before the Subcommittee, Hinton made four requests to read a prepared statement which, according to him, described his "experiences in China." He was told of our rule requiring witnesses to submit such documents twenty-four hours before a hearing. Nevertheless, that rule was waived on his behalf and the statement went into the record.

Of course, it was a transparently servile piece of propaganda on behalf of the Red Chinese government, which has killed, tortured and starved so many of Hinton's fellow countrymen. But it contained one brief paragraph which is clearly relevant to our present discussion. Remember, Mr. President, these words I am about to read are William Hinton's own. Remember that they were prepared with forethought by him and inserted into the record at his insistent request. Here are those words:

"In drawing up this statement, I have been handicapped by the fact that all of my notes, diaries, correspondence and background material on China were seized by the United States Customs when I returned to the United States."

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There is general agreement, Mr. President, that nothing like William Hinton's notes, diaries, correspondence and background material" has ever come into our Subcommittee's possession. To my knowledge, nothing like this has fallen into the hands of the free world since the cold war began.

They are a day-by-day, family-by-family, village-by-village chronicle of the Sovietization of China's farmers. They include schedules, tabulations, interviews and charts to inform Communist authorities just who was robbed and how often, who was beaten and how often, who ran away and how often.

And who died.

They were written by one who began as an observer. Then he joined a "work group" and learned how to "purify the party," "purify" being a Marxist synonym for "purge." His zealousness, his passionate, repeated, fully-expressed determination to wipe out all anti-Communist thought elevated him finally to the post of "upper cadre." As Hinton himself makes clear, this means that he occupied a place in the Communist command.

"We organized," he says in the "notes, diaries, correspondence and background material," which were seized from him by United States Customs.

"We purified."

"We sent directives."

We treated "different classes differently."

"We upper cadres must take the blame."

The Hinton papers are also a compendium of Communist doctrine, of Communist official propaganda in both English and Chinese. There are nearly 400 photographs, some of them from official propaganda sources, and some which seem to be the work of amateur photographers. They include pictures of many Americans whose activities the Subcommittee is scrutinizing, in our current study of "The Scope of Soviet Activity."

Added up, these "notes, diaries, correspondence and background material" are the autobiography of a traitor.

Does any Senator question that word? Well, here is William Hinton's picture, Mr. President, which we found among the "background material" he told us about. He is dressed in Chinese garb, standing on a platform in front of the Communist hammer and sickle, the flag of Communist China, and a picture of China's Communist dictator, Mao Tse-tung. He is making a speech to his fellow Communists.

Here are some of William Hinton's own words, which we found among the "notes, diaries and correspondence" that he swore were his. First are selections from a letter he wrote to his two sisters, Jean and Joan.

Jean Hinton, incidentally, was a protege of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, one of the most dangerous of Soviet spies. Joan worked under Robert Oppenheimer at Los Alamos. Her mother--and probably Joan herself--were given the use of Oppenheimer's ranch for a summer vacation. Joan followed her brother's example and went East where she remains, a passionately devoted, viciously dishonest propagandist for Red China's cause. It should also be noted that the Hintons were closely associated with the family of Owen Lattimore.

Before Joan's flight to China, she and Jean had a letter from their brother in far-off Tienstin. He did not like the news from home.

"That great beast, America," he told his sisters, "looks down upon the world and licks its lips."

And then, this.

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"So far I have seen no evidence of the anti-American feeling that is supposed to be rampant here. This worries me a little since it indicates the people have not yet learned who their enemies are. The soldiers are a little more conscious of the facts of life and always look astounded when you tell them you are an American."

I repeat, Mr. President, William Hinton's "notes diaries and correspondence are the autobiography of a traitor."

The soldiers, the Red Chinese soldiers who crossed the Yalu to kill American boys, have a special place in traitor Hinton's heart.

Among his possessions was an account of a trip "from Yenan to Mongolia," which he made during the Korean War. It is clear from this document that the Communist Hinton had full freedom to come and go throughout Red China at a time when other Americans were being brainwashed, starved and tortured in Communist prisons. There is no difficulty in understanding why, once we examine this cheerful little "travelogue." Let me read a few passages.

He visits a fort, and reports joyfully that "life is moving ahead here with a swing."

"The walls of the forts are plastered with slogans," he writes. "Carry out the new marriage law, Raise production, Join in the great land reform rechecking movement, Oppose America and aid Korea, Study the thought of Chairman Mao."

He meets a doctor, and complains because the latter seems to still have a little "Chung Mey" (worship America) attitude. But, says Hinton, the doctor "is learning fast and putting into practice many Soviet techniques..."

And then, in a railroad station, he looks upon "a long crowded platform of People's Volunteers dancing and singing, as they waited for their train."

"When this or that group got tired of dancing they stopped, lined up, and burst into song, singing 'Leap Across the Yalu' and other popular tunes of the day... The whole scene was one of collective gayety and good spirits. I could not help thinking what the American soldiers must be like as they leave for the front. Do they dance and sing, laugh and joke, study reading and writing, push health and exercise?"

"...Everyone," Hinton reports, "Everyone is putting renewed effort into aid for Korea to see to it that the imperialists never again dare poke their pigs snout into liberated China."

He taught in a North China "university," where boys and girls were trained for every kind of Communist revolutionary task. He took those boys and girls to a "struggle meeting" in a former Catholic Church, and gloated while one shivering human was shrieked at by a Red mob for eleven solid hours, for indulging in the crime of "landlord thought."

He conferred and banqueted with a commissar of the Central Committee of China's Communist Party.

He taxed, purged, classified, and brought wholesale Communist discipline to terrified peasants in Chinese villages.

He made a speech in a town square, urging his listeners not to yield to "tolerance." He surveyed a Red propaganda display and complained because it did not inflame the peasants to "a broader scope of accusation."

He went to a meeting of foreign writers at a Red Army school. He conferred with the Red Army's chief of staff on the very eve of the great offensive of 1948. He danced in the streets to celebrate Soviet holidays and the victories of China's Red Army. He met with Communist "cadres" to discuss "recruiting", "militia", "preferential treatment for soldiers families" and "training with rifles, grenades, mines, etc."

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He wept at the memorial service where Red China officially commemorated Agnes Smedley's twenty years service in the Communist underground, and to which it sent Red Army soldiers to lay flowers on her grave.

He rejoiced at the spectacle of "People's Volunteers" on the way to North Korea to kill American boys.

He brainwashed himself and others, time and time again, to wipe the last vestiges of Americanism from his mind and soul.

His papers tell the story of that brainwashing, Mr. President. Here are a few passages, which show his gradual progression from an "agricultural technician" to an "upper cadre" of China's Communist legions.

When he was still an UNRRA worker in Nationalist territory, he wrote this to his then wife, Bertha, who was in the United States:

"There is a move on here to get me into the job of supplying Communist areas and if I can get it, I will take it... I would be on salary and doing something that I have no qualms about."

Shortly thereafter, he begged her to "come to China right away... I have burned certain bridges behind me," he said. His wife burned bridges, too, in response to that plea, and her bridges remain burned. One of the first things Hinton did on returning to the United States was to get a Reno divorce and cast his wife and child adrift behind the Bronze Curtain.

Here is an example of self-brainwashing, of that Communist passion to believe everything good about the Soviets and everything bad about the United States.

"I suppose you have enough sense not to credit any of the stories about Russian artillery, Russian shells, Russian officers, Japanese troops, etc., etc., etc., that are pouring out of Mukden. There is no doubt that these are all fabrications... No Russian arms, equipment, men, or anything else have ever been seen in Manchuria since the Russians withdrew. The American Government and the American press know this full well, (After all we have a whole corps of men on the spot whose main task is just that, to prove that the Russians are helping the reds. So far they have been grossly disappointed.) yet they continue their insinuations, innuendos, and outright lies..."

The story develops in many documents, including letters to Sidney Engst, another former UNRRA worker and renegade, who married Hinton's sister Joan in China. Note it, against the background of Hinton's sworn statement at the American consulate in Frague, to the effect that he had simply been an agricultural technician at a single state farm.

"I was just settling down to a quiet period of teaching and study when the land reform began in this Hsien," he writes to Engst. "Many students went out to join in the work and I got ants in my pants and rushed around until I too got permission to go... We are in no way a highpowered group, so we made some bad mistakes and wandered all over the lot. After two months we still haven't organized the Peasants League, but we have organized the basic groups and purified the Party."

"Purified the Party?" He means purged, does he not, Mr. President? This American, this so-called "agricultural technician" is beginning to practice Soviet discipline upon Chinese peasants on their own, Chinese soil.

A little later, the "agricultural technician" lays down his tools. "As for the tools," he says "I have been so busy with this land reform that I have neglected them quite a bit..."

Listen, Mr. President, as he becomes more and more enraptured.

"Everyone who calls himself a revolutionary or wants to work for the Chinese people must now examine himself, prepare himself for mass work, for handing leadership to poor peasants and hired laborers, to give up ones own land, perhaps even struggle against ones own parents."

"Well when you are going to treat different classes differently you must have some idea of who is in what class and that was one of the most interesting parts of the work. Standards were set by the Central Committee (based by the way on standards drawn up by Lenin back in 1919) and everyone including the most backward and illiterate peasants studied them. You have never seen such a mass education movement as this was. Millions of peasants learned how to distinguish a rich farmer from a middle farmer (this is the key point since the former are struggled and the latter protected) and a poor farmer from a middle one. They learned it by applying these standards to all the families in their village. The whole village was classified three times so that there would be no mistake. Each time everyone appeared before the people of his part of the village, reported his land and property and his opinion of his class. Then all discussed and decided what he was. After the whole village was finished the list was posted..."

"My work mainly consists of going from farm to farm, looking into the way things are done, helping to solve problems, criticizing and encouraging... To arrive at any of the State Farms is like a homecoming for me, for almost all of the drivers are my students, old friends and comrades... Every day, no matter how busy the work is there is at least an hour or two of political study, and if it can't be carried out in an organized way during the heaviest rush of work it is done individually through reading the paper whenever there is a spare moment.

"It was while we were assembling the combines for the 10,000 mou wheat harvest that the Stockholm peace appeal reached the Chi-Heng State Farm. It was discussed for several days and was signed by everyone. (The Stockholm Peace Appeal, of course, Mr. President, was a routine Moscow fraud.)

"...of all the things I have seen in this last year and a half the most striking has been the development of the cadres and workers through the political education led by the Communist Party.

"...Through countless work review meetings and meeting for self and mutual criticism the people are gradually being united and steeled."

The people were united in other ways than in "work review meetings," Mr. President. They were united in death. Time Magazine reported a few weeks ago that "at least 20million Chinese have been deprived of existence since the Communists took over. Time adds, "In no previous war, revolution or human holocaust, either in the days of Tamerlane or in the time of Hitler, have so many people been destroyed in so short a period."

There is no charity, no grief, no horror at this "human holocaust" in William Hinton's heart. In all the thousands of pages in the footlocker he brought home, we found only a paragraph or two to express disapproval. It is not the disapproval of Christian outrage. It is the ideological disapproval of the Communist "upper cadre."

Here it is.

"The leftist errors really began to be serious in May 1947. Correction in our area began after Chairman Mao's Christmas report in about the middle of January. Beginning at that time we sent three directives from the Taihang Subregion to the Diwey Party Committee... The peasants must be under proletarian leadership. Without proletarian thought to guide them they commit just such errors and destroy the revolution. It has been our experience that whenever the peasants are mobilized to struggle they push on toward extreme equalitarianism and the cadres invariably follow along. In this case we upper cadres must take the blame for not having given the lower cadres full explanation and education about this point."

What is the goal which William Hinton sought? He tells us in a single, all-embracing sentence.

"...If gas ever becomes cheap here this may be the first genuine collective farm in Asia outside the Soviet Union..."

Let's forget Hinton as an individual now, and examine in perspective the material which he unwittingly put in our hands. The first successful Communist revolution in Europe, the Bolshevik uprising of 1917, occurred in a country whose population was overwhelmingly agricultural. The first successful revolution

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is rolling onward toward other great masses of land-hungry peasants.

Lenin drew the farmers into his revolution with the slogan, "All land to the peasants!"

Mao Tse-tung did the same for his, with the cry of "Land to the tillers!"

Now listen to this. Here is one of the many statements of basic Communist doctrine, which William Hinton brought home. It is entitled "THE 1946 MASS MOVEMENT IN SHANTUNG PROVINCE by Chang Yeh, director of the Mass Mobilization Department of the Provincial Party Bureau."

Section IV deals with "Land Reform in Front-Line Regions."

"The cadres must become convinced," says this basic Communist document, "The cadres must become convinced that only through coordinating land reform with the military struggle can both activities be successful.

"To clear the way of obstacles, the people must be mobilized to fight against big puppets or landlords who collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek. The sentiment of the people can only be aroused by launching an accusation movement against such persons..."

"All cadres and militia leaders must be under the sole leadership of the Party in order to support the military campaign as well as conduct the land reform program.

"Front-line struggles need support from other regions. They need material help as well as mass leaders and militia leaders who can reinforce their own leaders in launching a real attack."

Could any statement be clearer than this? The so-called "land reform" program, the trick of pretending to give "land to the tillers" was simply a means of recruiting them as cannon fodder for the Red Army.

That's why Hinton, this "agricultural technician," this "tractor expert" asked so many questions in the villages and drew so many reports and charts on "recruiting," "militia" and "soldiers families." That's why he sought the facts about "training with rifles, grenades, mines, etc." That's why he wanted the peasantry inflamed to "a broader scope of accusation."

He was a recruiting sergeant, disguised as a grease-monkey! As I have shown, Lenin fuelled his revolution with the promise of "all land to the peasants." Then what happened? He and Stalin took the land away. They called it "collectivization." They called it "socialization of agricultural property." It was theft. It was murder. It reached its climax in the awful Planned Famine, when Stalin deliberately starved to death five million men, women and children because they wanted to keep the land which had already been given them.

Mao Tse-tung fuelled his revolution with the same kind of promise. And what is he doing now? Exactly what Lenin and Stalin did before him. Here are some passages from a Red Chinese broadcast, which the State Department monitored on January 26.

"Peking, Jan. 25. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, called a meeting of the Supreme State Conference this afternoon to discuss the draft 1956-67 national program for agricultural development..."

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung made a speech at the meeting. He said that the country was at present in a high tide of the great Socialist revolution. The founding of the People's Republic of China signified that the Chinese Revolution had begun to move from the stage of Socialist revolution. This meant that the Chinese revolution had entered the transitional period from capitalism to socialism."

The Socialist revolution was aimed at releasing productive forces, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said. "The changeover from individual ownership of agriculture and handicrafts to Socialist collective ownership, and of private industries and commerce from capitalist ownership to Socialist ownership would certainly lead to an ever greater releasing of productive forces."

"The changeover," Mr. President, "the changeover from individual ownership of agriculture to Socialist collective ownership.

What was it the "land reformer," William Hinton, said:

"If gas ever becomes cheap here, this may be the first genuine collective farm in Asia, outside the Soviet Union."

The first.

Thirty-five years ago, Mr. President, an American named Harold M. Ware worked on one of the first collective farms in the U.S.S.R. Then he came home in 1931 to nourish Communism on the misery of our depression-stricken farmers. He organized farm strikes, milk strikes and violence throughout the Middle West. But those were nothing compared to the harm Hal Ware did to the cause of human freedom on the day he enlisted Alger Hiss into the Red government underground.

Is William Hinton a reincarnation of the late Hal Ware?

What is Hinton doing now? According to his own calculations, Mr. President, he has made 300 speeches since his return to the United States.

He is talking to students. He made a speech to the Scattergood School near West Branch, Iowa, in July of 1954. He was a "participant on several panels at the University of Colorado from April 18 to April 22, 1955", according to information received from the President of the University. I call particular attention to this appearance at the University of Colorado, which occurred eight months after Hinton's first appearance before the Subcommittee on Internal Security, where he had been fully exposed as an Agent of Red China's Government and where he had repeatedly invoked the Fifth Amendment rather than tell the truth about himself or other members of his family.

He was a member of the faculty -- note that, Mr. President -- at the Thirteenth Annual Institute of International Relations, auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, which was held at the Pennsylvania College for Women in March, 1954.

The program for that Institute states that it is located "about one mile east of the Cathedral of Learning."

Before he left for China, Hinton was a Farmers Union organizer. Hal Ware was a Farmers Union man, too.

Today, Mr. President, the Internal Security Subcommittee releases the testimony taken at the most recent Hinton hearings. I urge all Senators to give it most careful study for many reasons.

It shows, from the very inside, how Chinese Communist farmers were trapped by the Communist lie of "Land to the tillers" into shedding their own blood for the Communist cause. By the same token, it shows that the sinews of ultimate Communist overthrow will come from those same farmers, not only in China, but also in Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia herself.

It shows, through the deeds of one man, how the Soviet conspiracy can move its puppets from government bureau to government bureau, from farm to farm, from platform to platform, from country to country, from continent to continent.

It shows how the mind and soul of an educated American was turned upside down by Communist unreason, until that American became the incarnation of Dostoevsky's "Possessed."

It shows the relations of this American with others of his kind, who are linked in a conspiracy of betrayal to their country, which extends from a Vermont village to a Mongolian farm.

Some of the photographs we found in Hinton's footlocker, Mr. President, were taken during that Red-run ceremony of fraud known as the "Asian and Pacific Peace Conference." In one of these, John W. Powell, his wife Sylvia Powell, Julian Schuman and Joan Hinton are seated on a platform, apparently listening to the recording of a germ warfare "confession," which was extorted from an American aviator and repudiated by him as soon as he came home.

Box 30 Folder 16
HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

Subject File

Eastland, James O.

1956-1959,
1977, n.d.

-9-

The Powells and Julian Schuman have all appeared as witnesses before the Subcommittee. They were the people who ran the China Review, which Red Chinese used to brainwash American prisoners of war, with death as a possible penalty if the prisoners resisted.

As I have already pointed out, the Powells and Julian Schuman were indicted by a Federal grand jury in San Francisco a few days ago.

Hinton's story has a clear connection with that of the Powells, Julian Schuman and other Americans who participated in the so-called Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

But do not all these stories, all of them, trace back to the story of Harold M. Ware, who was trained for treason in the U.S.S.R. thirty-five years ago? And is it not time for the Congress to recognize this relationship, in terms of the Constitutional definition of treason?

oCoOoOo

Box B
Rye Beach, N. H.

July 14, 1959

The Honorable James O. Eastland
Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Eastland:

The release to morning papers of Monday,
July 13, 1959 from the Senate Internal
Security Subcommittee specifies a docu-
ment entitled "Contradictions of Commun-
ism".

We are anxious to obtain several copies,
approximately one-half dozen, if they
are available.

May we please hear from you at your con-
venience?

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Philbrick

S

Rec'd 7-21-59

JAMES O. EASTLAND
MISSISSIPPI
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Ruleville, Mississippi
August 16, 1977

Honorable Herbert A. Philbrick
229 Atlantic Avenue
North Hampton, N. H. 03862

Dear Mr. Philbrick:

I wish to apologize for the delay in replying to
your letter. Because the legislative calendar was so
heavy and demanding before the recess of the Senate, a
large accumulation of mail occurred which the Senator
was unable to answer personally. Your letter was for-
warded to our Mississippi office, and since Senator
Eastland is away for a few days on official business,
I am taking the liberty of acknowledging it.

We have requested the Internal Security Sub-
committee to furnish you with the two documents which
you have misplaced. If it is possible to locate these
documents, I am confident they will be forwarded to you
in the very near future.

Please be assured that your letter will be brought
to Senator Eastland's personal attention at the first op-
portunity. He will be pleased to learn you are happy and
well situated in New Hampshire. The Senator will deeply
appreciate the kind invitation from Colonel and Mrs. Hecker,
and should he have an opportunity, I know that he would like
to visit the Pease Air Force Base.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Jean Allen

Jean Allen,
Executive Secretary

Box 11 Folder 11
HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

Office File

Eastland, James O.

1956-1959,
1977, n.d.

The Powells and Julian Schuman have...

MISSISSIPPI'S
SENATOR
JAMES O.

Eastland



PRICE FIFTY CENTS

Senator James O. Eastland has become in his lifetime a living symbol of conservative leadership in the United States Senate.

Appointed to the United States Senate in 1941, following the untimely death of Mississippi's beloved Pat Harrison, Senator Eastland was elected in his own right in 1942 by the people of Mississippi.

Since then he has inspired a leadership tradition of both accomplishment and integrity in the U. S. Senate.

His career is distinguished by his dedication to the highest ideals of America, to the defense of the Constitution, and to the advancement of Mississippi.

The continued satisfaction of the citizens of Mississippi expressed by their support of Senator Eastland has placed him in a unique position to serve their interests.

As Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, he personally considers a major part of all legislation handled by the Senate.

As Chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee, he untiringly and unselfishly devotes his energies in the investigation of subversive groups, and particularly the Communist conspiracy. Few men are hated and feared by the Communists as much as Senator Eastland because of his exposure of their movement and his legislative actions against them.

Senator Eastland, as a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, and as Chairman of the Soil Conservation and Forestry Subcommittee, labors untiringly to further the vital agricultural economy of Mississippi and the nation.

Serving as Chairman of the Senate Immigration Subcommittee, Senator Eastland stands as a guardian of sound immigration policies.

His accomplishments are written indelibly in the history of our time. The following pages provide a perspective of the man who has made the tradition . . . of Mississippi's Voice in Washington.

Mississippi's Voice in Washington



COMMITTEE LEADERSHIP

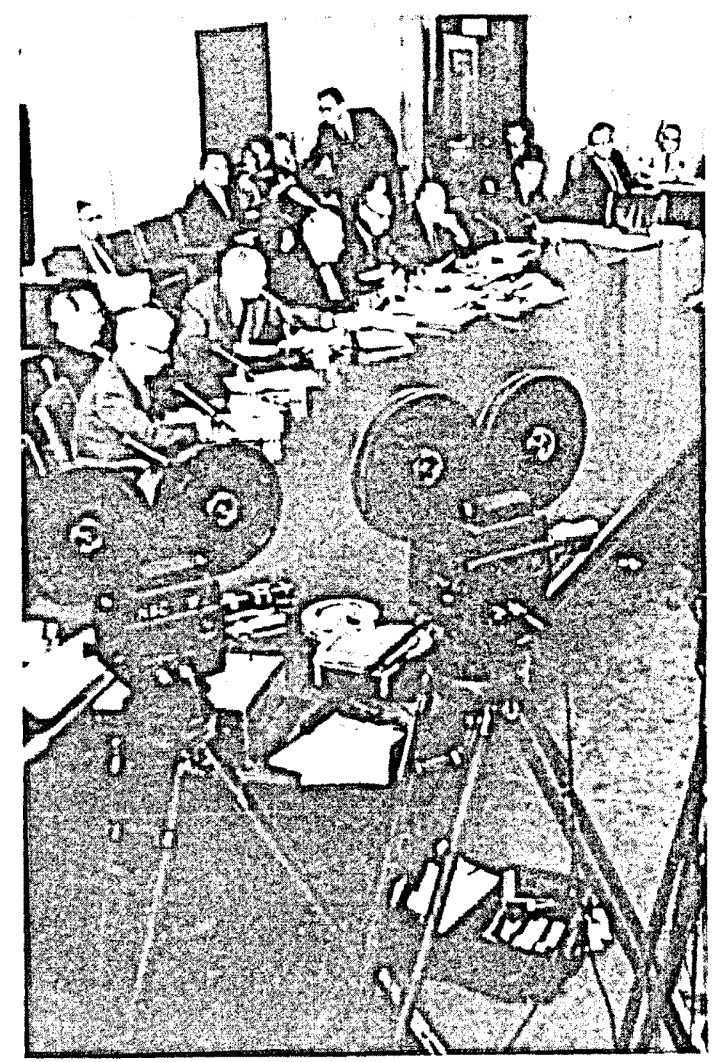
"Once in position he has proved hard to move."

Senator James O. Eastland is the youngest man ever to be appointed as Chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee and he has held that position for longer than any other Senator in the 20th Century.

The Judiciary Committee holds its immense power by virtue of the fact that more than 60 per cent of all the legislation of the Senate must pass through it.

The Judiciary Committee, under Senator Eastland, stands as a watchdog committee dedicated to safeguarding the laws of the nation and the Constitution.

The Judiciary Committee has 15 subcommittees under its authority and these subcommittees are responsible to Senator Eastland's full committee on a wide range of vital matters.



N.A.S.A.

"For our own sake and for civilization
we must go forward."

Mississippi is playing a major role in the race to the moon and the exploration of space. The establishment of the Mississippi Test Facility of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration near Gainesville forms a vital link in the nation's space program.

The 142,000-acre test facility astride Highway 43 in Hancock County between Bay St. Louis and Picayune is a vast complex of massive test stands, underground tunnels and gleaming concrete buildings packed with electronics equipment, laboratories, industrial facilities and miles of railroad and man-made canals.

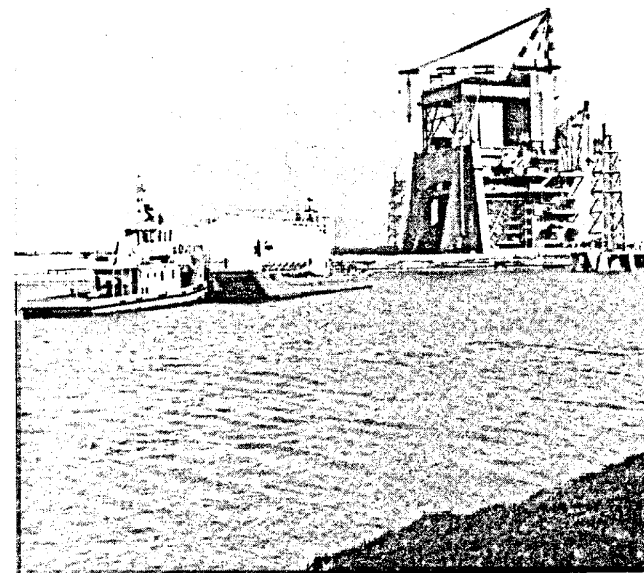
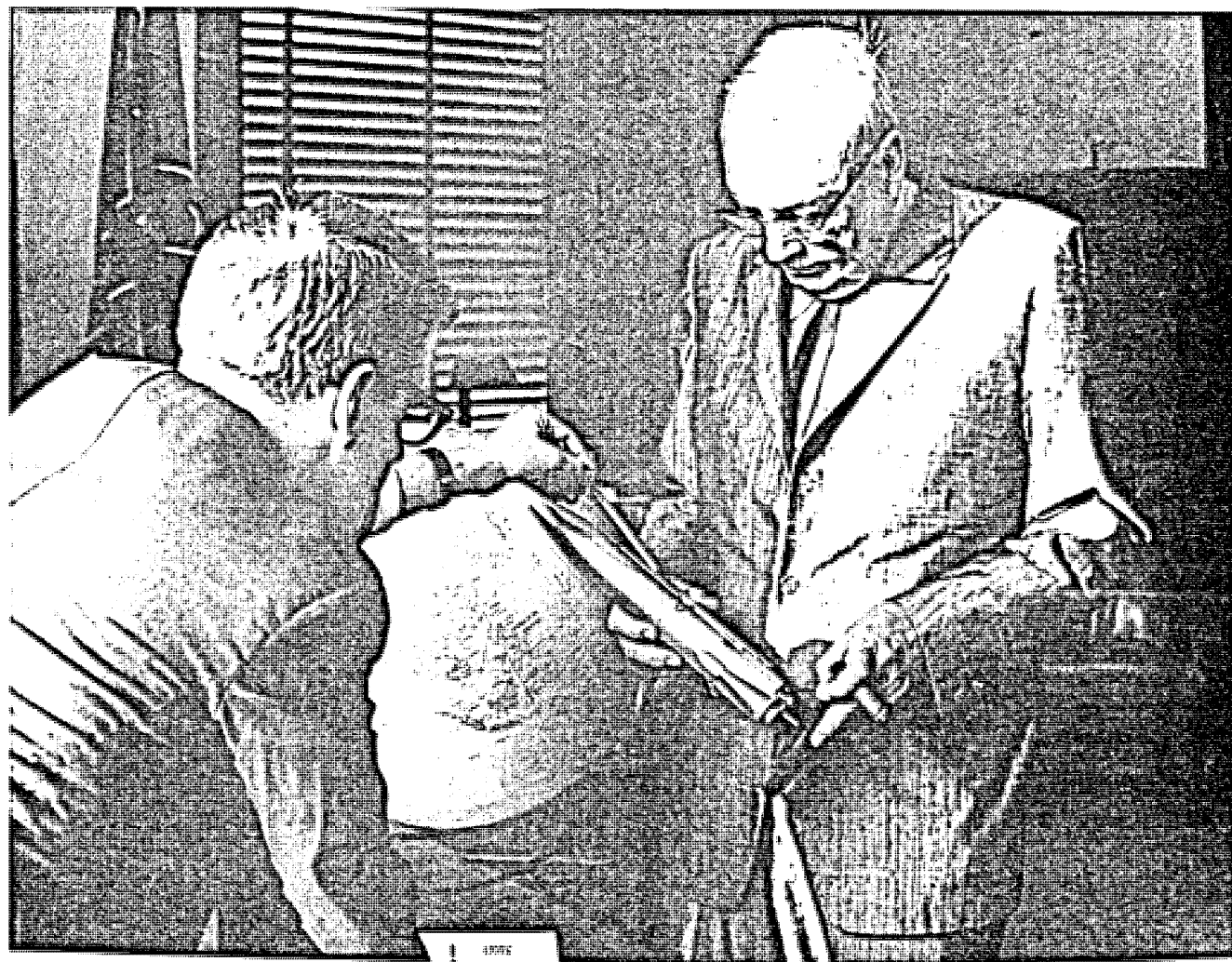
Here in coastal Mississippi explored by DeSoto and later fought for and won by Andrew Jackson and his men, engineers, construction crews and an army of specialists are building the \$260 million proving ground for the mighty rockets designed to propel American astronauts on lunar missions at the end of this decade.

It is estimated that development and operation

of the test site will result in about 9,000 new jobs and 21,000 new residents. The permanent operating force at this site, after construction is ended, will be about 3,000—a large number being highly skilled technicians and engineers. Salaries and wages paid to those employed this year at MTF, amounting to over \$72,000,000 annually, stimulate real estate, wholesale and retail sales and show up in high tax revenues. When operational, wages paid to the 3,000 employees at MTF will be around \$30 million annually.

The Mississippi Test Facility has been planned to provide adequate room and support facilities for expansion and is looked upon by NASA as a national rocket test site with a built-in growth potential to handle large launch vehicles of the future.

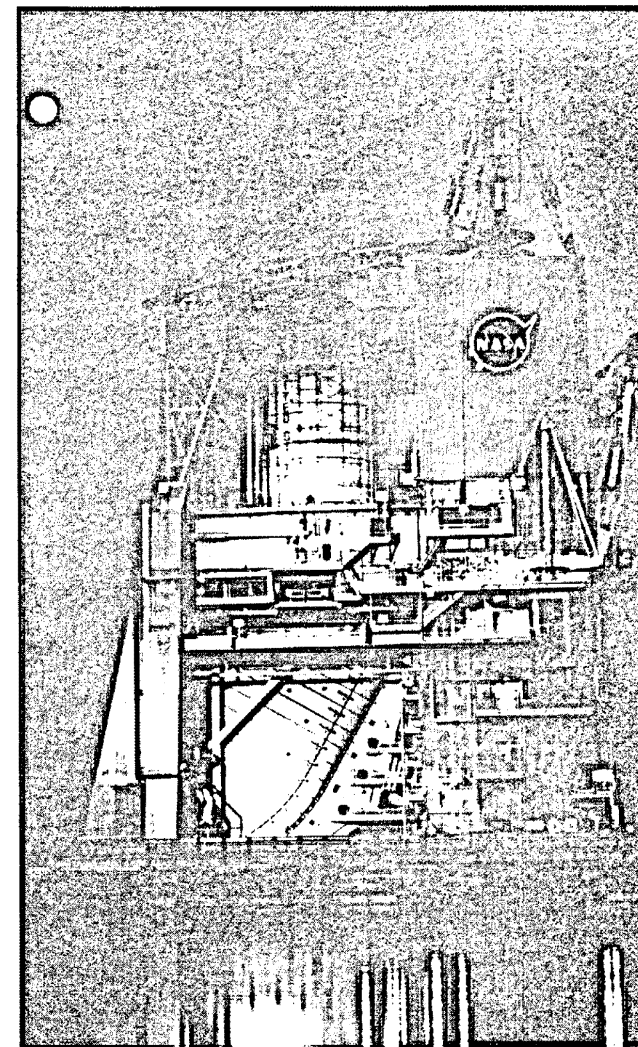
Senator James O. Eastland, a strong supporter of space programs and an advocate of the need of space power in the defense of the nation, maintains an active participation in promoting Mississippi's role in the program.



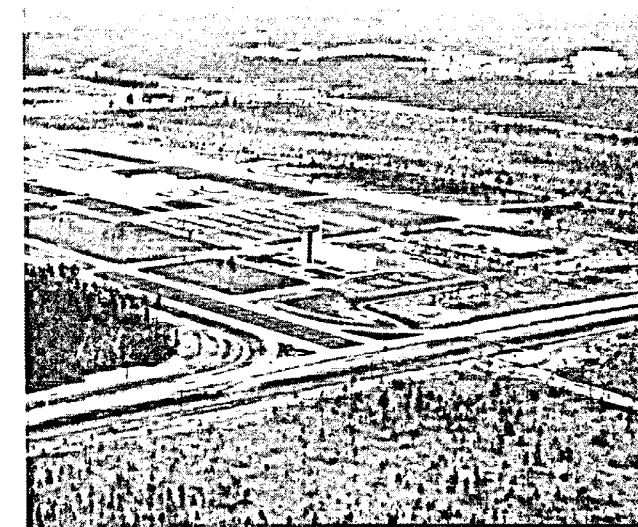
Above, Giant rocket engine being barged to test stand.

Top right, night testing of NASA rocket engine at the Mississippi Facility.

Bottom, Air view of the control center of the Mississippi Test Facility.



"Tested in Mississippi"



INTERNAL SECURITY

"We must destroy the Communist conspiracy, or be destroyed."



Recognizing the threat to the nation posed by the Communist conspiracy, Senator Eastland retains under his personal control as Chairman, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Senator Eastland is credited with a key role in the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950 which overcame a presidential veto to give the United States its first modern anti-subversive law.

As Chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee, he is continually working on legislation to plug new gaps in the nation's security laws.

He wages a constant campaign to expose the Communist efforts to undermine the United States.

His efforts to foil the Communist menace have earned him the praise of not only law enforcement officers across the nation, but also J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I.

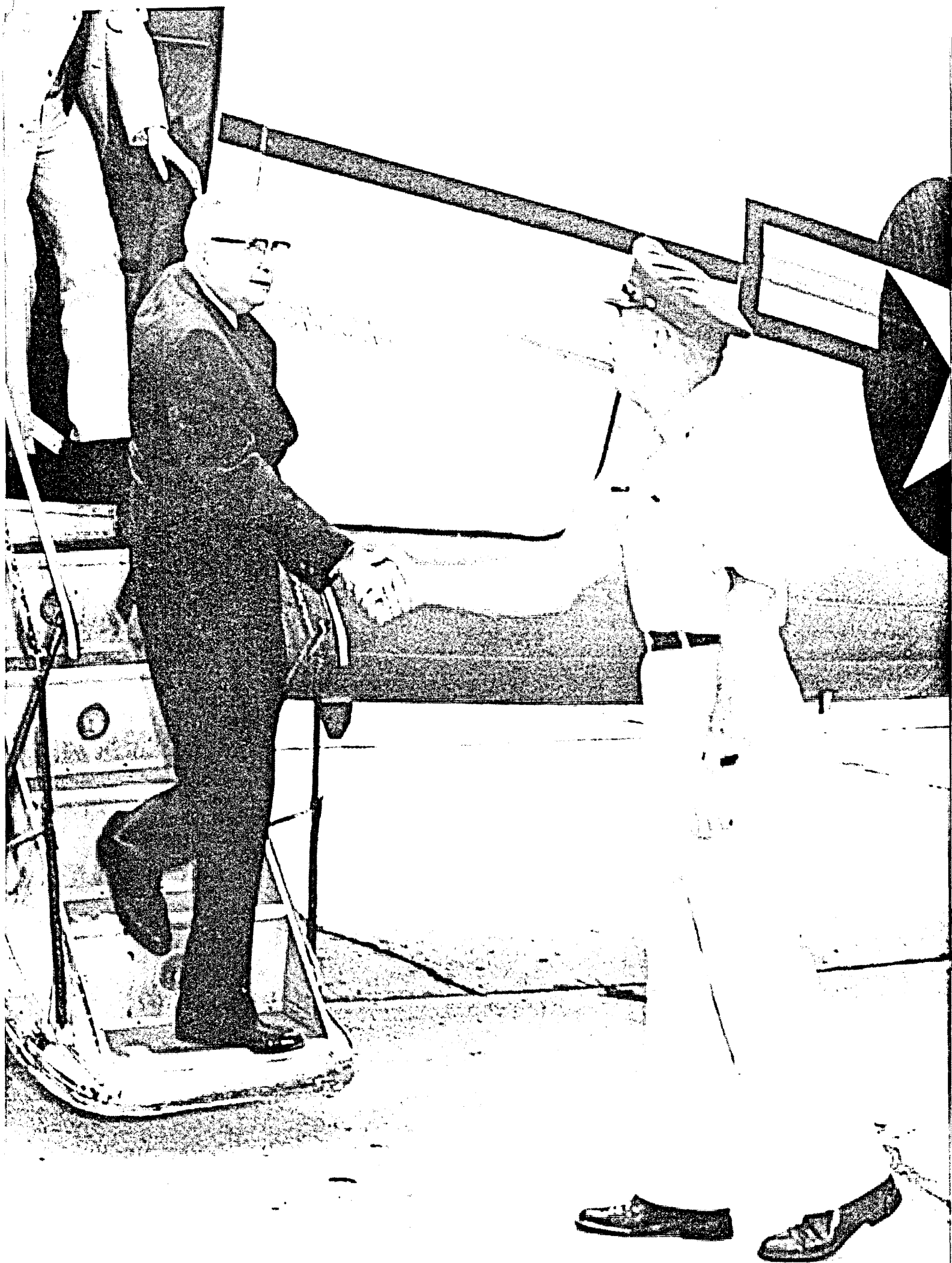
The American Legion, the V.F.W., D.A.R. and other national American organizations repeatedly honor Senator Eastland for his untiring pursuit of subversive elements in the country.

Senator Eastland and his Internal Security Subcommittee hold hearings and probe deeply into possible subversive activities in trade unions, the State Department, civil rights groups, campus organizations and other such areas.

Peaceniks and pro-Communist fellow travelers are the targets of Senator Eastland's efforts to control foreign travel by persons who are either subversive, or who damage the foreign policy of the United States.

Laws to purge security risks in the government, and in particular the State Department, are being pressed by Senator Eastland in his struggle to strengthen America.

-9-



The sound of air power in Mississippi thunders from the mighty jet engines of the Strategic Air Command's bombers at Columbus and roars from the engines of the Mississippi Air National Guard planes.

At Keesler Air Force Base in Biloxi this air power is backed up by one of the most advanced Air Force training centers in the United States.

In addition the Navy contributes to the aerospace mission with its training facility near Meridian.

The role these bases and training centers play in the national defense is vital, but they also play important roles in the economy of Mississippi.

The payroll and expenditures of the military bases in Mississippi have a dynamic impact on the

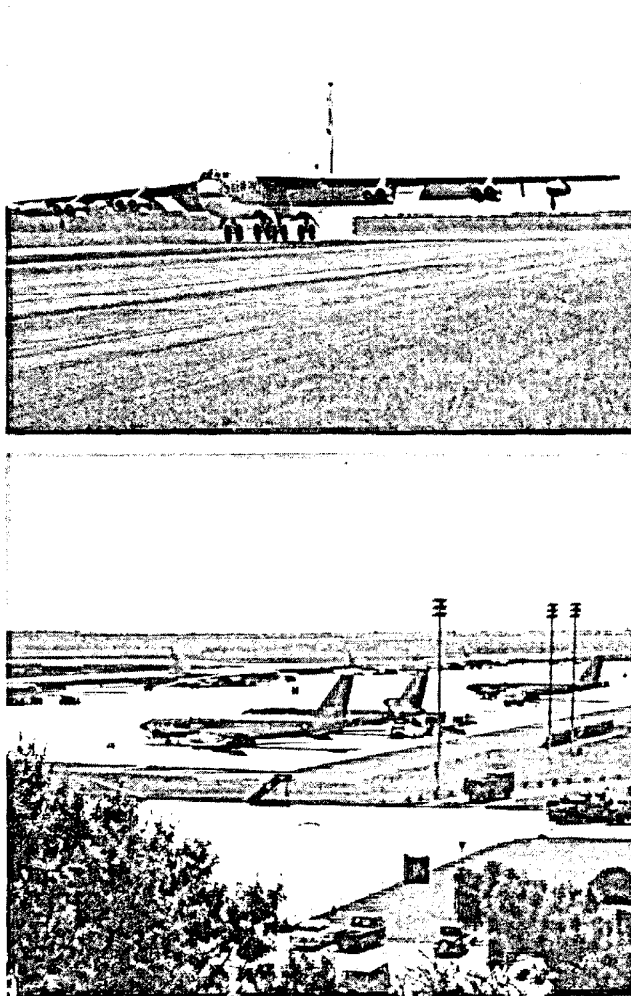
state's economy and on Mississippi's continuing growth. The thousands of servicemen stationed in Mississippi plus the military facilities provide civilian employment for Mississippians and contribute millions to the state in payroll and other expenditures.

Senator James O. Eastland works to keep Mississippi's strategic position permanent in the eyes of the nation's military leaders to insure that the state will continue actively to participate in the defense structure of the country.

Besides hosting these vital defense establishments, Mississippi industry maintains a prosperous part in supplying Mississippi manufactured defense materials.

AIR POWER

"We have built a mighty force that is both shield and sword."



MISSISSIPPI'S FIGHTING MEN

*"When they need brave men,
they look to these."*

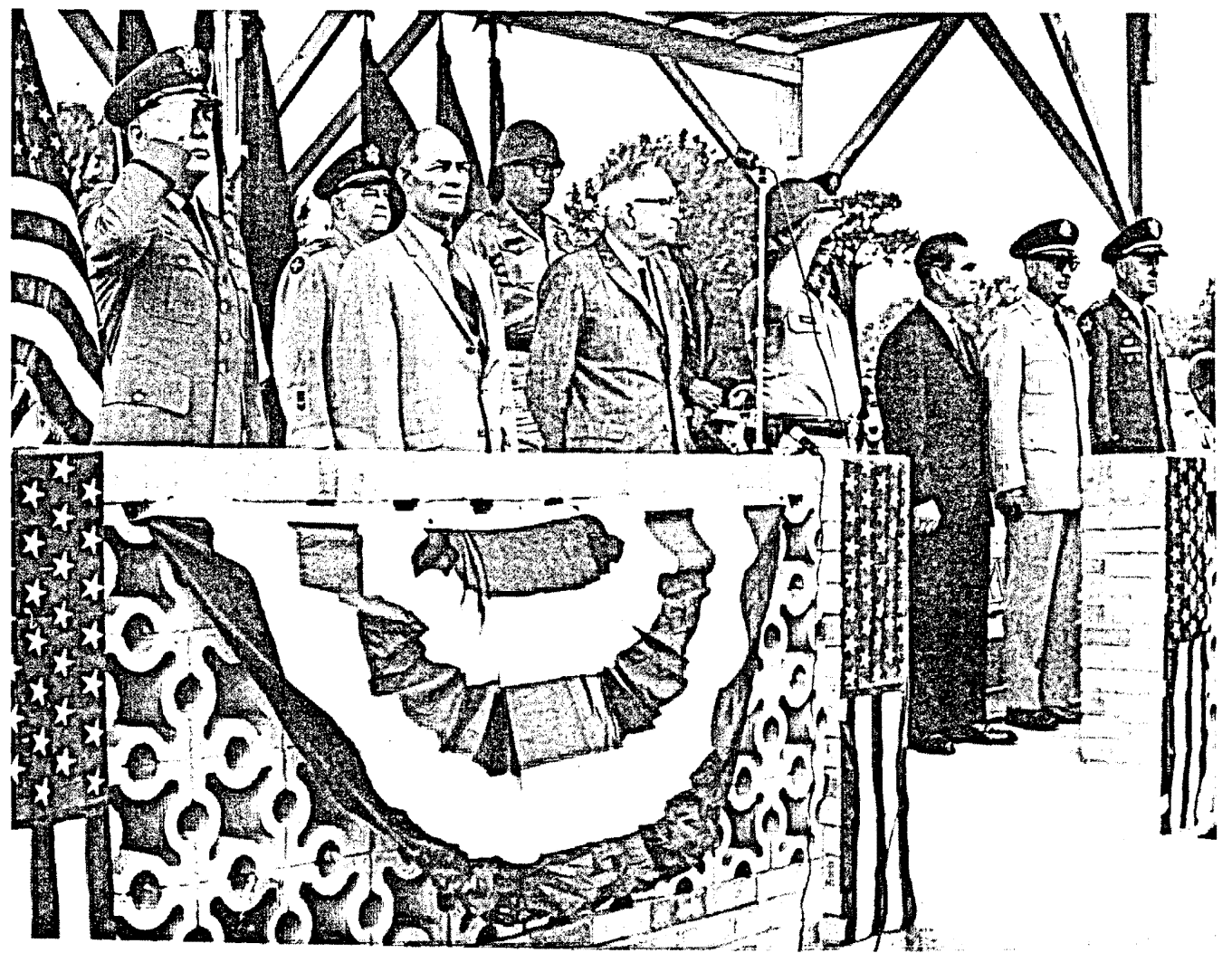
Mississippi has long held an important and proud role in building the nation's military strength. Today the state's participation in the national defense is even greater than ever.

Senator James O. Eastland plays an important role in assuring the continued existence of a strong and healthy military establishment to defend the country and to preserve the internal security of the nation.

Recently Senator Eastland was awarded the Mississippi Magnolia Cross, the state's highest medal. He is only the second person in Mississippi history to receive such an honor.

The citation accompanying the medal reads in part:

"Senator Eastland has always strongly supported the Mississippi National Guard and advocated a well-organized and equipped force. As a member of the Agriculture Committee, he has aided the Mississippi National Guard materially in securing national forest land for training purposes.



"With outstanding qualities of leadership and statesmanship throughout the entire period of this citation he has earned the utmost respect of the nation and the admiration and praise of the people of Mississippi. By his high qualities of courage, character and determination, and his dedication to his high office of public trust, he has rendered a distinct service in furthering the security and welfare of the nation and state . . . in recognition of this great man, it is a privilege to award him the Mississippi Magnolia Cross."

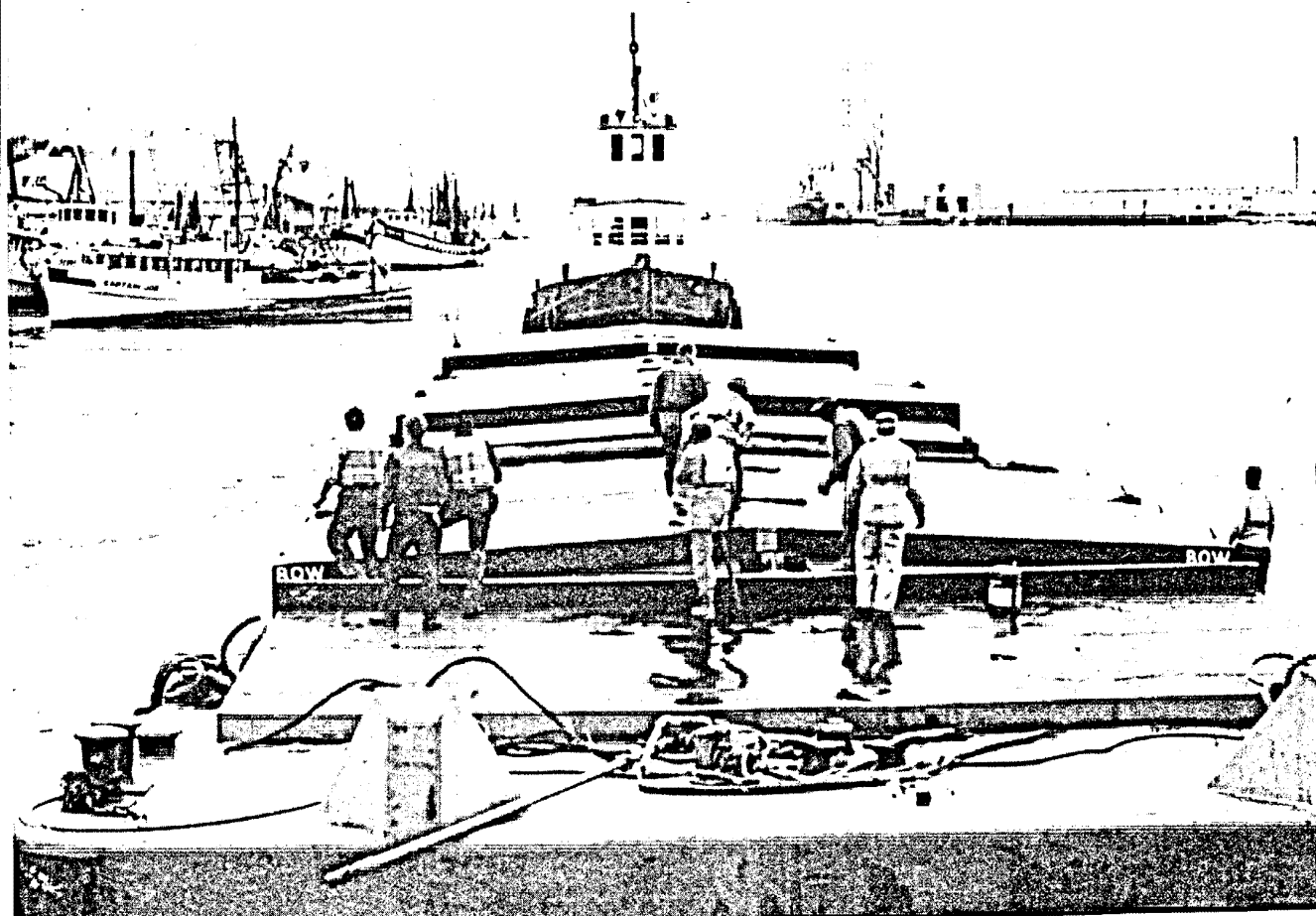
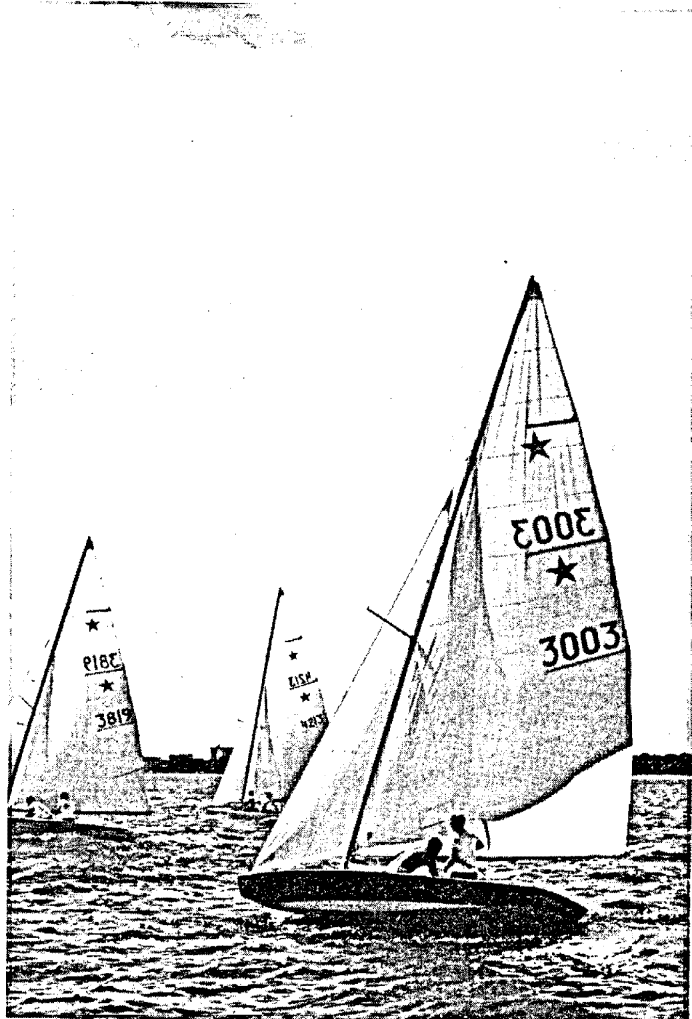
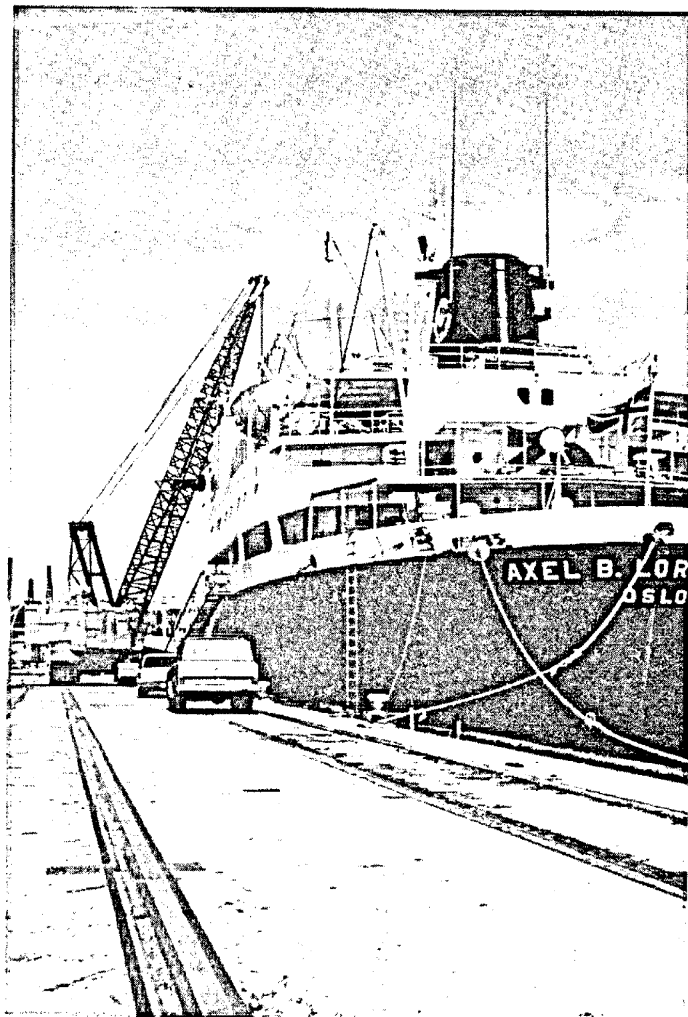
In Washington Senator Eastland keeps a critical eye on the conduct of the war in South Vietnam. He is outspokenly opposed to any halfway measures which will protract the fighting in Southeast Asia and keep American soldiers in combat.

Senator Eastland insists that American fighting men be given the advantage of every modern weapon in the nation's arsenal needed to win the fight and bring them home.



WATERWAYS

"The finest system in the nation."



Water transportation is part of the backbone of Mississippi's vigorous economy. Industry, anxious for low-cost transportation for its products, has found Mississippi an ideal state for location.

Barge and towboat transportation on the Mississippi River offers access to the markets of Mid-America, as well as export shipping to the world's major ports.

Ocean shipping and shipbuilding on the Mississippi Gulf Coast form a gateway to the world for Mississippi industrial manufacture and agriculture produce.

The Pat Harrison Waterway project and the establishment of river ports along the Mississippi River, the Yazoo River, and the linking up of the Tombigbee Tennessee River systems are a few of the projects Senator James O. Eastland labors to promote.

Mississippi has been termed "a huge roofless factory" by experts describing the state's agricultural industry. There is no doubt that Mississippi is blessed with an ideal climate, plentiful water and rich soil.

Senator Eastland is a member of the key Senate Agriculture Committee, and as Chairman of the Senate Forestry and Soil Conservation Committee, is credited with being the "best friend of Mississippi Agriculture."

He has been honored by the Mississippi Farm Bureau and by numerous national agricultural associations.

Among his many accomplishments in farm legislation has been his unsurpassed record of maintaining provisions in the farm bills for the protection of minimum cotton allotments for small farmers.

Senator Eastland, using his committee power, has several times restored this vital protection to farm bills which otherwise would have ignored small producers.

Protection of the small farmer with such amend-

ments as the "10 acre" exemption has earned him the warm gratitude of the state's farmers.

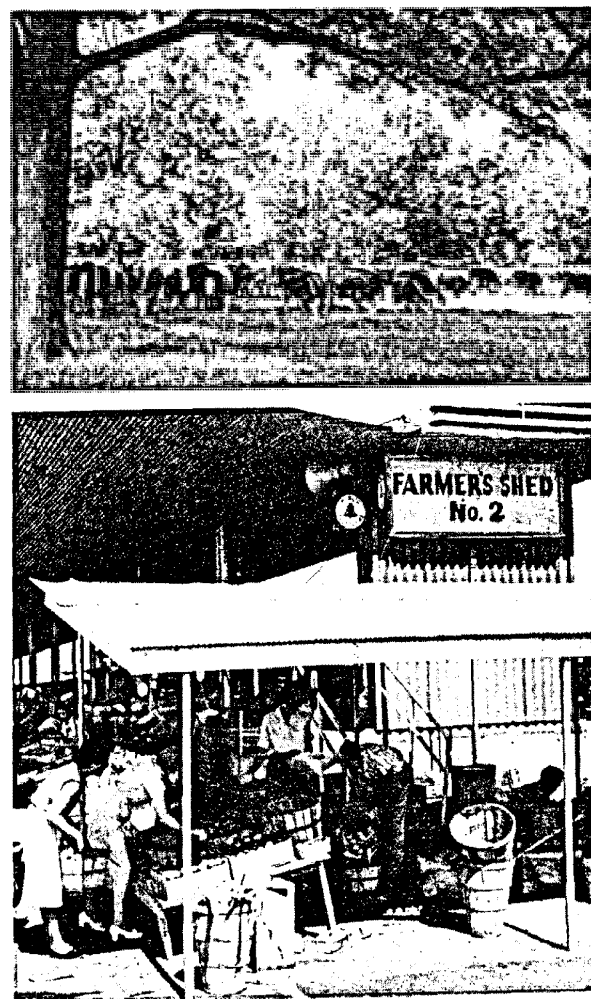
Senator Eastland was born in Scott County, the biggest broiler county in the state. He has been interested in the poultry industry from its beginning a few short years ago. Broiler and egg sales grew to a \$165,000,000 total in Mississippi in 1965.

When the Secretary of Commerce placed limitations on cattle hide exports, causing a loss of about \$2.50 per head to cattle farmers, Senator Eastland protested vigorously and demanded a reconsideration. Hearings resulted which practically revised the export quota.

He supported the recodification of the Farmers Home Administration legislation in 1962. He was author of the law that extended the Water Facilities Act to the Eastern portion of the United States in 1954. He was a co-sponsor of the Act in 1965 that broadened the Farmers Home Administration's lending authority to communities for water facilities and sewage disposal, and to provide grants to such communities where the ability to repay such loans is limited.

AGRICULTURE

"We have a great fortune
under our feet."



The industrial development of Mississippi since World War II is nothing short of spectacular. The rate of industrial expansion across the state is outstanding, but not surprising considering the advantages which Mississippi offers industry seeking to relocate in the South.

Mississippi has a mild climate, abundant water, a large labor force, and state and community sponsored programs to help new industry become established.

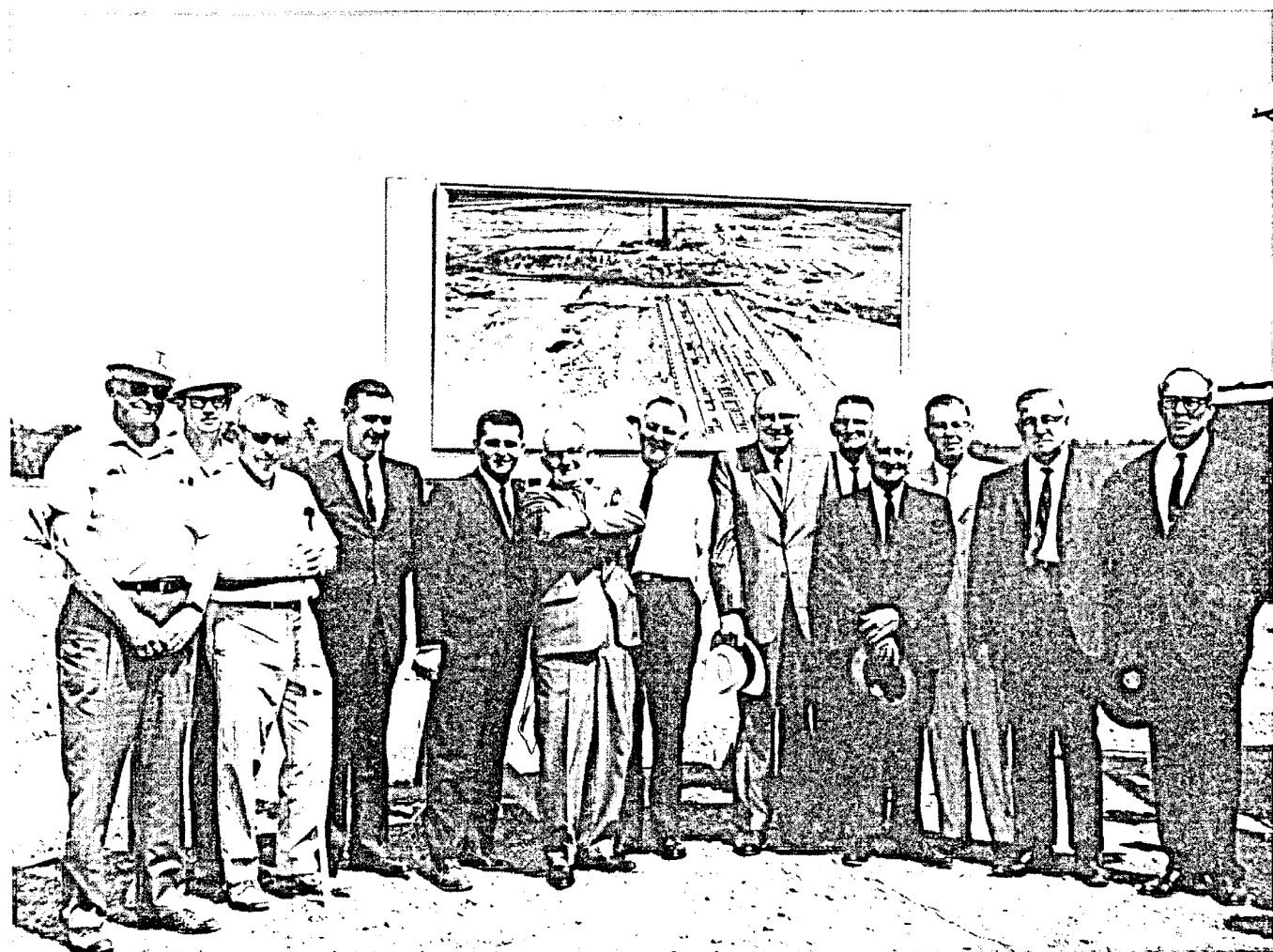
Mississippi's Right to Work Law is considered by American industry and labor members as a major factor in the healthy growth of manufacturing in the state.

Mississippi's labor community has proved to be aggressive and highly productive and it has earned praise from every manufacturer who has located a plant in Mississippi.

Senator Eastland was instrumental in the permanent establishment of the Small Business Administration. This agency has been responsible for making hundreds of small business loans to Mississippi businesses.

INDUSTRY

"Mississippi's future is unlimited for industrial growth."



The firms receiving Small Business Administration loans have in most cases prospered and expanded which has resulted in the creation of jobs for thousands of Mississippians.

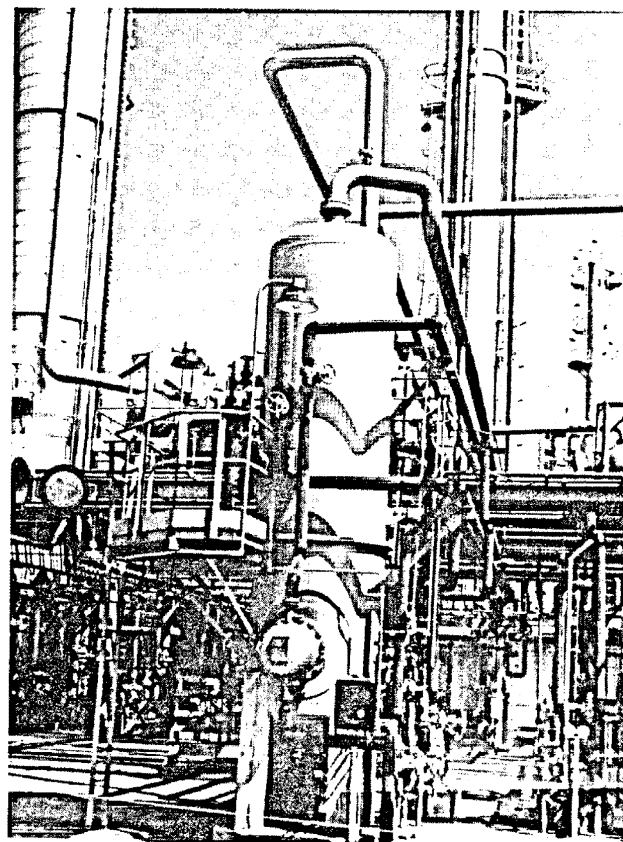
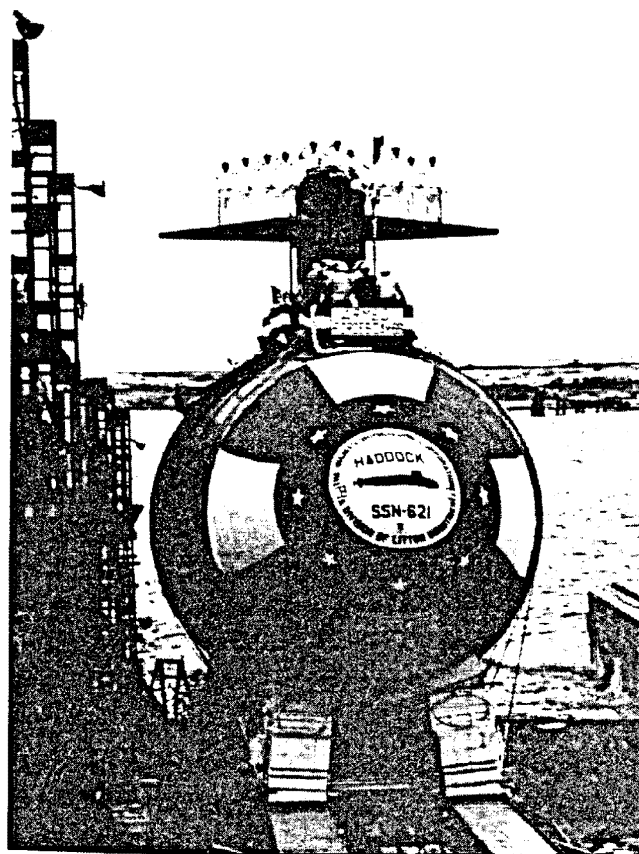
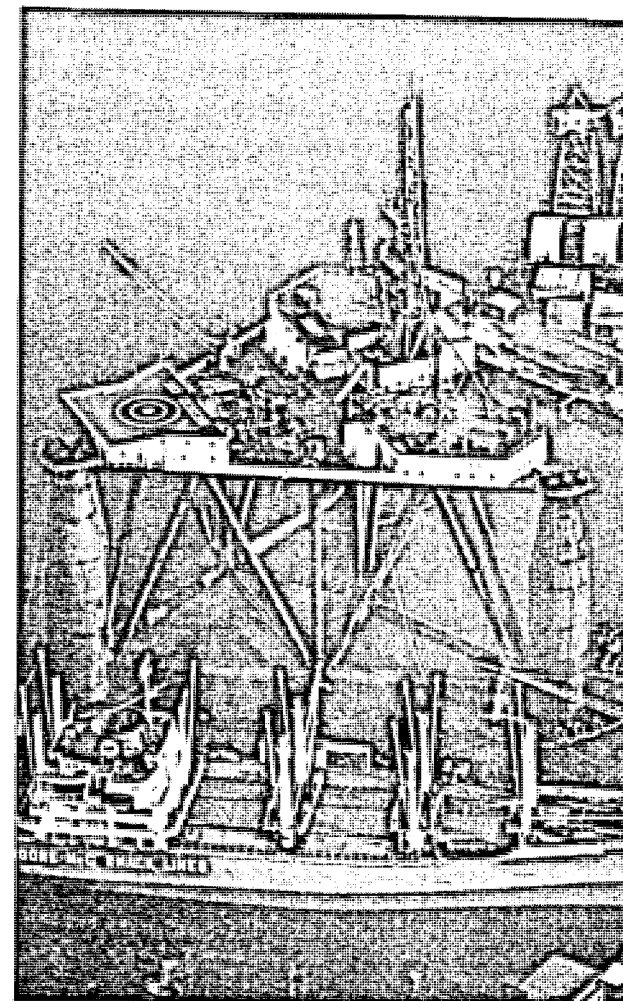
Senator Eastland works closely with the State Agricultural & Industrial Board to help promote Mississippi as an ideal state for industry to locate new plants.

He takes an interest in all projects which increase the state's industrial appeal.

Important to the industrial growth of any state are highways and Senator Eastland is a major force in Washington to obtain thousands of additional miles of interstate roads.

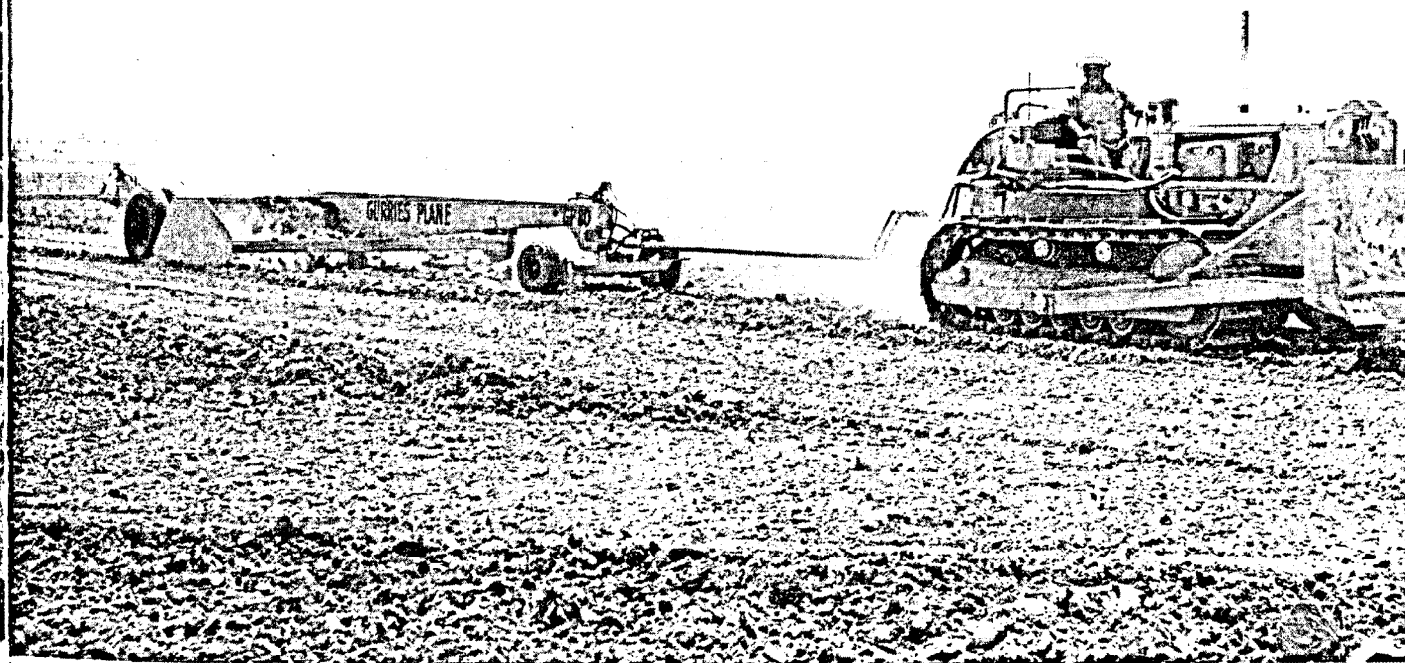
His call for doubling interstate mileage through modernizing existing highways and financing with anti-inflationary bonds to expedite construction has won him wide acclaim.

Senator Eastland has expressed the opinion that highway building is a proper function of the federal government to help states in their independent promotion of industry to strengthen both the national and local economies.



CONSERVATION

*"We are blessed with a great
natural heritage."*



The preservation and restoration of the natural wealth of Mississippi through conservation is of prime importance to Senator James O. Eastland.

The task of preserving the rich soil of the State's valuable farm land from the ravishes of wind and water erosion is a challenge which Senator Eastland has worked to meet through his position as Chairman of the Senate Forestry and Soil Conservation Subcommittee. The actions of this Committee under Senator Eastland are far-reaching in salvaging areas laid waste by silting, flooding, or mismanagement. Senator Eastland as Chairman of this vital Subcommittee assists various state and local community agencies in their conservation projects.

Dozens of important federally financed watershed projects costing millions of dollars have been

brought to Mississippi through Senator Eastland's untiring efforts.

The creation of numerous fishing and boating and other water recreation areas has brought not only tourist revenue from visitors coming to enjoy Mississippi's wonderful outdoors, but they also provide Mississippians with thousands of acres for sport and relaxation.

Mississippi's multimillion dollar timber industry owes a debt of gratitude to conservation programs which have brought new life and profit to the forests of the State.

Mississippi's water resources are not only among the best in the nation, but the purity is a source of amazement to outsiders. Ambitious programs to eliminate water pollution receive top priority from Senator Eastland.



The man behind the legend is very warm and human. His early life is a story of hard work and Christian discipline.

Born in Doddsville November 28, 1904, he is the son of the late Woods C. Eastland and his wife, Alma Austin Eastland.

He attended the University of Mississippi, Vanderbilt University and the University of Alabama before moving to Forest where he engaged in a practice of law and in farming.

Elected to the Mississippi House of Representatives in 1928, he married the former Elizabeth Coleman in 1932.

The story of Senator Eastland's private life is the story of a quiet family man who loves his chil-

dren and grandchildren. He and Mrs. Eastland have four children: daughters, Nell, Ann and Sue, and a son, Woods Eugene.

Senator Eastland is a young man as age is reckoned among Senators although he is the fifth ranking Democrat Senator in the United States Senate.

In Washington he shuns publicity, never accepts the countless invitations pressed on him to attend diplomatic and other fashionable parties. He and Mrs. Eastland prefer to spend their evenings quietly in their small house in the District of Columbia.

Senator Eastland rarely leaves his office until 7:30 in the evening, takes lunch at his desk almost without exception, and arrives early for work.

Jim Eastland The MAN



Mississippi stands today on the threshold of an era of progress and prosperity which is her rightful heritage.

The hard work of the people of Mississippi, coupled with their traditional good management of their affairs, are responsible for this new age of opportunity.

Mississippi has traveled a long and difficult road from the dark and bitter days when it was reduced to ruin by the ravages of war. Mississippians a century ago faced the bleakness of living under an Army of occupation when even the smallest amount of self government was denied to the people.

Without any cure-all formula, the great people of Mississippi rose to rebuild a bigger and better society. They persevered and triumphed because of their unity.

Today Mississippi faces new problems, but certainly not worse than those faced by our forefathers and I have no doubt that we shall carry on to victory in the same manner.

We have not yet reached the summit of greatness which our beloved state is capable—we have built the foundations for such greatness and they rest on the rock of our people and their industry.

The nation, too, faces a challenge which must be met with vigorous leadership and responsibility. The greatness of America, toward which Mississippi has contributed the blood of its young men and the wealth of its people, needs the efforts of every conservative spirit.

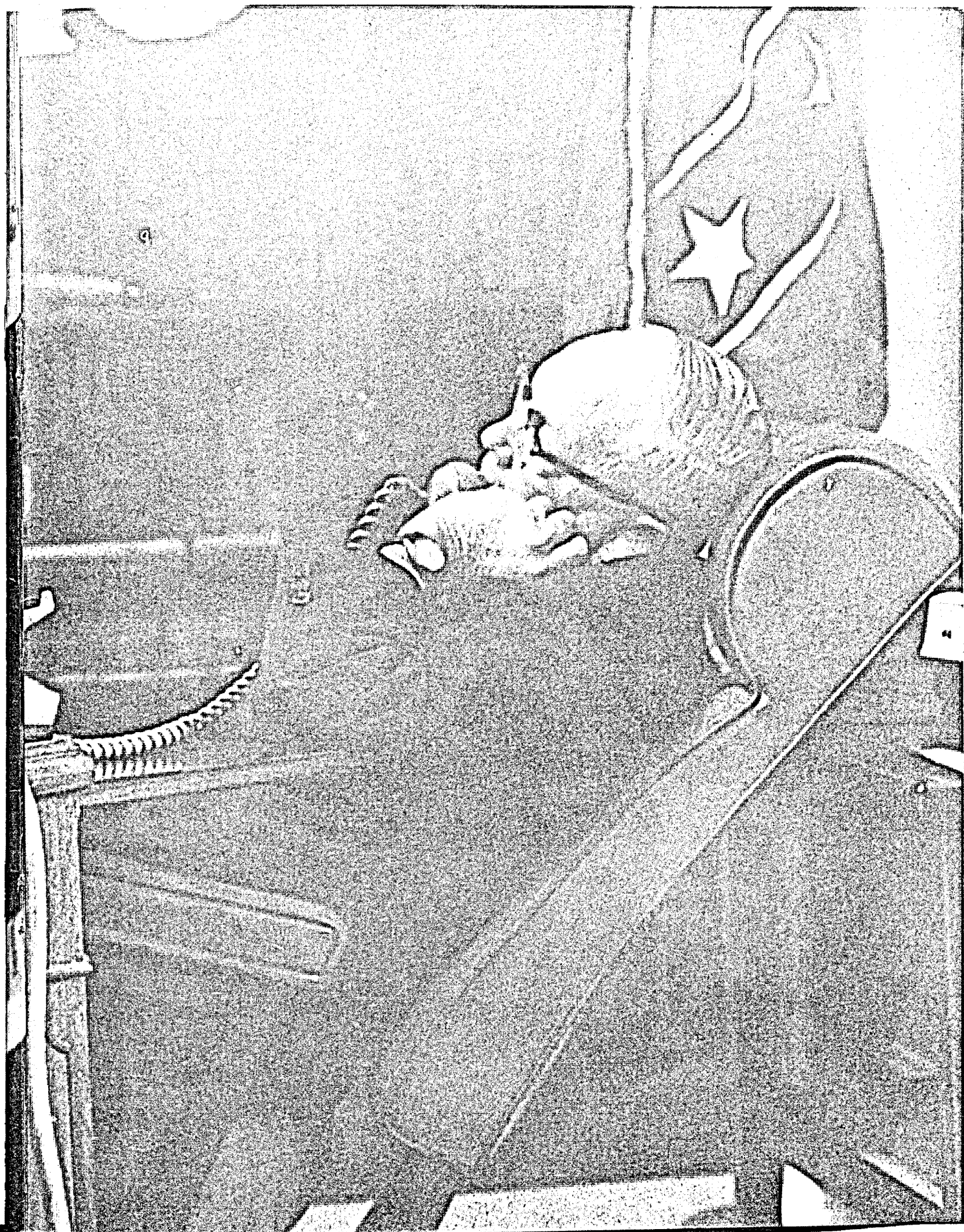
Where we have labored hard in the past, we must work twice as hard in the future. Where we have failed once, we must succeed now, where we have won a victory before we must not rest on our laurels, but go forward.

We must close our ears to the bleatings of the weakhearted, we must show our strength to those who think we can be bribed or bought with senseless promises.

The objectives and goals of our age are clear. We must restore and preserve the American way of life and work in close unity to promote the continued greatness we have inherited.

James O. Eastland

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HERBERT A. PHILBRICK
Box 00 Folder 16

Subject File

Eastland, James O.

1956-1959,
1977, n.d.



James O. Eastland

REPORT A PHILBRICK

Subject File

"IT IS HAPPENING HERE"

— by —

DR. REVILO P. OLIVER

Professor of the Classics
University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

RECEIVED NOV 28 1961

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Presented at the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Delegates and Assembly of the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., September 29, 30 and October 1, 1960, St. Louis, Missouri.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am indeed honored and happy to be here. I know, of course, the accomplishments of your distinguished association in the struggle to keep America free — or perhaps we should say, to restore freedom to America. And it is, above all, a privilege to speak to you because you, by virtue of your profession, enjoy, in the consideration of the realities of the modern world, an advantage that few or no other groups possess in this age of fragmentary and narrow views of life. Medicine is, in part, an exact science and therefore involves the use of strictest scientific method, but the application of this method to human beings is an art which necessarily transcends scientific method and therefore implies a knowledge of its limitations. You cannot, as so many of our contemporaries insist on doing, ignore the realities of human nature, physiological or psychic, and you daily must reckon with the sad fact that unpleasant or pernicious realities cannot be changed by calling them "unthinkable." And the history of medicine itself is a constant reminder of how much long, patient, and dispassionate effort is needed to extend even a little understanding and control of the dark world in which we live — and when we look to the past, a reminder of how precarious and fragile, how like a human life, are the cultural achievements of man.

When I was looking through manuscripts in the Laurentian Library in Florence a few years ago, I chanced upon an elegantly written copy of a medical treatise that, so far as I know, has never been printed, although it would provide a curious footnote to the history of medicine. The book is entitled DE MORBO GALLICO and was composed about 1508 by a professor of medicine at Prato, Giuliano Tanio. The disease that he describes is, of course, syphilis, which had been imported into Europe from America only a few years before, but Tanio wrote twenty-two years before the famous poem by Fracastorius that gave to the disease its present name. Tanio discusses the aetiology of the MORBUS GALLICUS at great length, and comes to the conclusion that the malady originated in Rome in 1495, and therefore must have been caused by the heavy rains of that year which so raised the level of the Tiber that a large part of the city was flooded. The people of Rome had to walk through the inundated streets, and so got their feet wet. Therefore, says Tanio, the real cause of syphilis is — wet feet.

Gentlemen, the diagnosis of the Communist infection that is generally accepted in the United States today is no less fantastic — and equally dangerous. The current misconceptions about Communism are all obviously and grotesquely wrong, if only we take a moment to think about them critically, but they have been so constantly repeated by venal politicians and a corrupt press that many of our fellow citizens now accept them almost unconsciously.

The American people's fatuous and disastrous illusions about Communism spring from four basic myths invented by the Communists themselves: first, that it is a mass movement; second, that it is somehow caused by poverty; third, that it is something generically new and modern; and fourth, that it is an "ideology," an economic, political or even philosophical doctrine. All four of these notions are patently false and absurd. Let us glance at each in turn.

I. Communism is not a mass movement. In Russia itself less than four per-cent of the population is permitted to join the Communist Party, and three-quarters of this little minority consists of persons who cannot rise above the status of disciplined servants. In the United States it is not easy to gain admittance to even the lowest rank in the official Communist Party, which in this country, as in all countries that have not yet been taken over, is composed almost entirely of only low-grade members of the total organization. And it

takes hard and unremitting work to REMAIN a member of even this lowest rank. The Party is constantly purging itself of all members who are idle, inefficient, or show symptoms of moral character.

It follows, therefore, that no nation has ever "gone Communist" or "turned to Communism." Every nation now enslaved has been captured as the United States will soon be captured, if we do nothing about it — captured from within by a tiny minority of utterly ruthless and perfectly disciplined conspirators. That is the way in which the first conquest of International Communism was effected in Russia in 1917, when 150,000,000 people were captured — under very favorable conditions, to be sure — by one-twentieth of one per-cent of their number. There were only 80,000 active Communists in the whole Russian territory, and even this tiny gang was organized and completely controlled by a hard core of only 1,700 expert criminals, most of whom had been trained in the United States under the direction of a vicious degenerate who operated under many aliases, of which the best known is Leon Trotsky.

Permit me to quote from the current "Scoreboard" issue of AMERICAN OPINION:

"Communism is NOT a mass movement. THAT IS THE SECRET OF ITS SUCCESS. It has always been a tightly knit, rigidly disciplined, and numerically small conspiracy of highly talented, utterly dedicated, and totally vicious criminals.

"The conspiracy captures nations by 'boring from within' — by working for years and decades to boost into positions of influence and power members who appear to outsiders to be above suspicion. It conquers by putting the right men in the right places — the places where they can subtly deceive or secretly betray. It therefore neither needs nor wants numbers. It does not enlist masses; it manipulates them."

II. The silliest and in the present circumstances the most dangerous of all the myths about Communism is the one that is now officially used by our government as a pretext for draining away the wealth of the American people under the guise of "economic aid" to "underdeveloped nations," a scheme which is really making the American people finance the Communist conquest of the rest of the world. And that is the preposterous notion that Communism is somehow related to poverty. Did you ever hear of a Communist who was really a pauper? For that matter, did you ever hear of a real Communist who was actually a laborer or working man? Communist agents, to be sure, pose as such, but almost invariably they will, on examination, be discovered to be in the same class as the poor steelworker in Gary, Indiana, who was identified as a Communist agent by the House Committee on Un-American Activities two years ago (1958). He had obtained employment in the steel plant under false pretenses and with a falsified record; he was discovered to be a graduate of the University of Colorado, and as soon as he was detected and his usefulness in Gary thus terminated, he was awarded a handsome fellowship at the University of Illinois, where, of course, he is now flourishing and is supported partly by the Ford Foundation and partly by the taxpaying boobies of the State of Illinois.

Merely a typical example is a man recently summoned before the Senate Subcommittee, where he refused to answer questions when confronted with evidence concerning his connections with the Communist Party and with ninety-six of its subsidiaries, affiliates, and organized operations, but did admit that he acknowledged no allegiance to the United States. He was Marcus Isaac Goldman, B.A. (Harvard), B.S. (Harvard), E.M. (Columbia), Ph.D. (John Hopkins), and he had worked as a geologist in the Department of the Interior until

he was retired on a pension of \$382 a month. But do not think of him as a poor, starveling wage-slave. He was the son of a multi-millionaire, and had assets KNOWN TO THE COMMITTEE which made him virtually a millionaire in his own right.

Or take another typical example, a person whom those of you who live in Chicago may have known. Alfred K. Stern, a multi-millionaire in his own right, married Martha Dodd, the daughter of Professor William E. Dodd, who was the American Ambassador to Germany in the years immediately preceding the war that he did so much to promote. There is evidence that Miss Dodd was a Communist agent while she was still living in the American Embassy in Berlin. Stern's connections with Communism before he married Miss Dodd are less clear. There can be no doubt, however, that after their marriage both were Communist agents, and that Stern, from his huge fortune, gladly contributed money to finance treason in the United States. Even to persons who knew him well, he appeared to be merely a "Liberal," interested in such things as "public housing," and "brotherhood," and in all probability he would remain active and unsuspected to this day, but for a mere accident, a slip-up in the usually efficient operations of the Russian secret police. That slight slip plus the nervousness of the Sterns led to their exposure. In July, 1957, they fled to Russia — perhaps unnecessarily, for had they chosen to brazen it out in the United States, it is unlikely that they would have been convicted on the relatively small amount of evidence that was really available against them — and had they been convicted, it is a safe bet that the Frankfurter-Warren gang in the Supreme Court would have found some way to turn them loose.

There is another side to this picture that you should also consider. The International Communist Conspiracy is by far the wealthiest organization in the world, and it has literally unlimited funds at its disposal. Where necessary, it buys what it needs, from small retail stores to great newspapers and radio stations — and where necessary, it hires traitors and pays them well. For example, the titular head of a very minor Communist front in West Germany, the Westdeutscher Flüchtlingskongress, is paid a salary of \$2,000 a MONTH. And Communist employees in Germany are paid, if they wish, in bar gold, which, under present conditions, they can sell on the black market for a considerable additional profit. And remember that the employee we have mentioned takes no risk; the Flüchtlingskongress professes a humanitarian purpose, and although observers in Germany are as morally certain of its nature as we are about the hundreds of organizations in this country that ostensibly work for "mental health" or "international understanding" or "brotherhood," the German police have been able to find no documentary proof of its Communist direction.

III. The professed goals of Communism — equality, a classless society, socialism — are sold to the ignorant, and particularly to the extremely ignorant people who call themselves "Liberal intellectuals," as somehow new and "progressive" ideas; whereas they are in reality, as every student of anthropology and history knows, the oldest errors of mankind. Marxian socialism is merely a regression to barbarism and savagery.

The only classless societies that have ever existed on this earth were found among the lowest and most stupid savages, for example, the aborigines of Australia, whose mental capacity you may judge from the fact that they propagated themselves on that continent for at least sixty thousand years without once suspecting that there might be a causal connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy.

The concept of private property is the mark of civilization. It is unknown among savages. The individual savage really owns nothing, although he may possess a few beads for adornment or a spear, and so far as there is anything that may be called property, it belongs to the tribe. To the rudimentary mind of these human animals the very notion of private ownership of real property is abhorrent and "unjust." That, by the way, is a point that you must bear in mind when you consider the grotesque survivals of the Stone Age that the Communist conspiracy is now introducing in the guise of "independent nations" into one of its favorite instrumentalities, the obscene vaudeville show in New York City that is called the "United Nations." The savages of

Africa — many of them, as you know, are enthusiastic cannibals — are necessarily on the side of the Communists because the Marxian doctrine merely expresses what seems obvious to their dim consciousness.

Socialism, since it requires an elaborate organization, is found in practice only in the stage next above pure savagery, barbarism. The Socialist state and economic planning first appear in history in the barbarous monarchies of the early Orient, of which you will find an illuminating, if complex, analysis in Karl A. Wittvogel's ORIENTAL DESPOTISM. But the most complete example of a Socialist state known to history was found in Peru among the people whom we incorrectly call the Incas. This stupid and bovine race had no system of coinage or commerce, no writing or literature, no capacity for reflective thought, and, so far as we can tell, gave no promise of ever being able to attain these fundamentals of higher culture. But they did have a well developed agriculture, some skill in the construction of permanent buildings, and a system of bookkeeping. All land was communal, all production was organized for use instead of profit, and the whole economy was planned by an elaborate bureaucracy, which had 1,331 administrators for every 10,000 persons. The human livestock lived and died as domestic animals on a vast plantation, and, like sheep or cows, they had so little individualism and intelligence that they were probably quite happy in such an existence. Peru, before the Spaniards came, was really a Socialist paradise.

It is true that Socialism as a form of economic organization also appears in history at the other end of the scale, as the clearest manifestation of the decadence of a dying state, but never reaches the perfection that it attained among the Indians of Peru for the simple reason that the nation dies before the cancerous growth has reached its theoretical maximum. The decline of the Roman Empire may be measured by the growth of its bureaucracy. Of this cancer the Roman world died slowly, in an agony that extended over at least two centuries, and the result was, of course, the reversion to barbarism that we properly call the Dark Ages.

Even in the most highly developed cultures, such as those of Greece and Rome and of the Western world since the Renaissance, civilization and rationality have at best but a precarious control over the residual barbarism latent in mankind. The history of the Occidental world is maculated by innumerable sects or gangs of ignorant fanatics who preached, under one guise or another, a return to the joyous barbarism in which all men were equal, all property was held in common for the use of all, and all of society was planned and managed by self-appointed experts who claimed to possess oversized brains or oversized souls — or both. In antiquity, you have the odd Stoic sects headed by Blossius of Cumae, and many others, of which you will find a concise account in Robert von Pohlmann's GESCHICHTE DER SOZIALEN FRAGE; among the many early Christian heresies, such doctrines were so characteristic of the Gnostic sects that Eric Voegelin in his ORDER AND HISTORY uses the word 'Gnosticism' to designate the basic Socialist outlook; in the Middle Ages, you have the Bogomils, the Cathari, and many others; after the Renaissance, you have such disarming phenomena as the followers of John of Leyden and the Levellers in Puritan England; in the Eighteenth Century, you have the anti-religious conspiracy of the Perfektibilisten, commonly called the Illuminati, organized by Adam Weishaupt, and the blood-thirsty Jacobins of France.

There is nothing new about the so-called doctrines of Marxism — they come from the primeval abyss of ignorance and savagery that is much, much older than recorded or recoverable history. What is new is the size and perfect organization of the world-wide conspiracy that is now using these old barbaric yawns for its own purposes.

IV. To think of Communism as an ideology that can be combated and destroyed by argument and reason or by kindness and tolerance is as foolish as trying to tame a rattlesnake by patting its head. To be sure, we can and must present the simple and obvious facts to the multitude of sentimental, vain, or greedy persons whom disguised Communists manipulate through the hundreds of seemingly humanitarian organizations that they have created for that purpose, and we can thus accomplish a great deal, provided, of course, that these dupes have not been too thoroughly brain-washed in our modern schools. But you simply waste your time, if you try to talk to a real hard-core Communist.

There is simply nothing to talk about.

There is nothing to talk about for two distinct and conclusive reasons, the first intellectual, and the second emotional.

Argument presupposes an attempt to ascertain truth, but for the Communist truth does not exist. He is a Pragmatist who follows the doctrines of John Dewey to their logical and ultimate consequences. For him, words are weapons to be used to attain his ends, a drug to poison and paralyze his victims.

But this intellectual nihilism serves a fixed and terrible emotion. Although the mind of the true Communist operates with a ruthless lucidity and an appalling ingenuity, it is driven by a furious passion that is really an inverted religion — the passion that seeks evil for its own sake. If you wish to use Christian terms, it is Satanism, and the Communists among us are the modern counterparts of the thousands and thousands of people who in the Middle Ages secretly worshipped Satan with abominable rites primarily because they hated with a deep, instinctive, and unappeasable hatred everything that Christianity calls good. The Communist is driven by an insatiable hatred of Western civilization, and of everything that we esteem: truth, honor, decency, mercy, integrity, learning, culture. He is driven by an overwhelming lust to defile and destroy, to desecrate and maim, to torture and kill.

For an analysis of this monstrous mentality, you will find most instructive Denis de Rougemont's recent work, MAN'S WESTERN QUEST. For proof of it, you have but to inspect the record of what has happened in EVERY country that the Communist conspiracy has captured — the uniformly sickening record of the torture and murder of millions of human beings with NO intelligible purpose other than a frenzied Sadism and a lust to reduce men to the level of beasts. It is murder for the sake of murder, torture for the joy of torturing. And if you expect the rabid beasts of the Communist conspiracy to behave in the United States, if they take it over, in a way different from that in which they have UNIFORMLY behaved in the half of the world they have already taken over, you will doubtless also expect the spirochaetes of syphilis to change their nature.

That is more than a figure of speech, because there is a certain analogy between the physiological and the social diseases. Some elementary textbooks, I understand, call syphilis "the great imitator," because the symptoms produced by the spirochaetes differ with the organs in which they find lodgement. There is a certain parallel between this phenomenon and the methods of the Communist conspiracy, which with an almost infinite versatility, adapts itself to every vital organ in the whole mental, religious, and racial structure of each society that it undertakes to subvert. It masquerades in the guise of all religions, and preys on the credulity of all races. In absolute monarchies, it cozens the king; in democracies, blocks of voters, always calculating nicely the cupidity and the fatuity of its victims. It preaches "nationalism," "independence," and "self-determination" to the blacks of Africa, and it preaches "internationalism," "interdependence," and "One World" to suckers in the United States. It is all things to all men according to their folly. It is as versatile as evil itself.

That, gentlemen, is the real secret of the conspiracy's success. Consider what it has accomplished in this country in less than a century.

At the time that the headquarters of the Communist International were openly and officially transferred to New York City in 1872, there were only a few hundred people in the whole United States willing to become members of the conspiracy. In 1876, the conspiracy went entirely underground, and its members were instructed to devote themselves to infiltrating and capturing existing American educational, religious, and social organizations. It was not until 1907 that they felt strong enough to set on foot both a public terrorist group and the first Communist-front that can be identified with any real certainty. The terrorist gang organized in that year was called the I.W.W. and was headed by William Z. Foster, a criminal who was at that time or soon thereafter the close associate of Felix Frankfurter, who is now a justice of our Supreme Court. The Communist-front was called the Methodist Federation for Social Service and was

founded by Dr. Harry F. Ward, a Methodist minister in Evanston, Illinois, who later became a professor in the Union Theological Seminary — an ordained criminal whose membership in the Communist Party has been established beyond all possible doubt by the testimony of many witnesses.

The present official Communist Party was not organized until 1919, and was headed again by William Z. Foster. It is, in the phrase of the Communists themselves, merely the visible part of their iceberg, the periscope of their submarine. It has served primarily as a means of simultaneously recruiting members for, and distracting public attention from, the secret Communist underground, which has always been more numerous and far, far more dangerous, for its members all deny that they are Communists and promote the goals of the conspiracy while professing educational, religious, or humanitarian purposes.

How successful the conspiracy has been, and how imminent now is our danger, gentlemen, you may judge from the "Scoreboards" published annually by AMERICAN OPINION for the past three years. The SCOREBOARD is an estimate of the degree of Communist influence and control OVER EVERYTHING OF ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL IMPORTANCE done in each of the 107 major countries of the world, and it is compiled from the estimates and reports submitted independently of each other by the foremost observers of the Communist conspiracy — observers living on five continents and each a long-time and well-informed student of Communist methods and purposes. Here are the scores for the United States that represent the consensus of expert opinion:

1958, 20-40%
1959, 30-50%
1960, 40-60%

And remember, gentlemen, that that means 40-60% of control over everything of political and economic importance done in or by this country. And the best proof of the accuracy of this figure, perhaps, is the fact that in the current political campaign neither the Tweedledums nor the Tweedledees dare even to mention what is the major — indeed the only vital issue before the American people, the acute disease of internal subversion that is killing the United States.

If you will but examine the evidence objectively and dispassionately, asking yourself what causes are needed to produce observed effects, you will observe and identify numerous Communist operations in both our domestic and foreign policy, and from the actual study of a few of these for yourselves you will learn much more than any speaker could tell you. But merely as an example of what I mean by a Communist operation, let me read you the data on Cuba assembled in the concise report on that country in the issue of AMERICAN OPINION that I have already quoted:

"When Fidel Castro returned to Cuba in November, 1956, to begin a revolution of which the success was guaranteed by the U.S. State Department (it even prevented the legitimate government of Cuba from obtaining arms and ammunition to defend itself), no reasonable person who took the trouble to inform himself from the files of any moderately large newspaper could have failed to know that Fidel Castro was an agent of the international Communist conspiracy, and that the purpose of his invasion was to establish a Soviet base.

"It was a matter of public record that Fidel Castro, a degenerate who began his career as a boy by killing other people's farm animals with a high-powered rifle, had, while at the University of Havana, participated in the murder of one fellow-student, Manolo Castro, and had personally shot another, Leonel Gomez, in the back. He was known to have been trained in the techniques of terrorism and murder by Alberto Bayo, the notorious Spanish Communist. He was known to have been one of the leaders of the attempted Communist revolution in Bogota, Colombia, in 1948, in which more than three hundred people were killed, many of them after having been taken prisoner; he was at the time identified by the Colombian police as one of the most vicious leaders of the riot and, on the basis of documentary evidence, as a paid agent of Soviet Russia — and photographs showing him as a participant in the rioting were available in the files of some newspapers. It was furthermore a matter of

public record that this drug-addict was convicted of banditry and murder in Cuba in 1953, and was released from prison only by an injudicious general amnesty.

"It was also known at the time that all of Castro's prominent supporters had Communist and criminal records; that, for example, his brother, Raul, and his brother's wife, Vilma Espin, had been trained in sabotage and terrorism in Czechoslovakia and Russia; that his Chief of Staff was none other than the notorious Alberto Bayo; that his Chief of Propaganda, Candido Gonzales, was a registered member of the Communist Party of Cuba; that his principal adviser was an Argentine degenerate, Dr. Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, who had been one of the top-level associates of the Communist butcher in Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz, and concerning whom the State Department had in its files official reports made by the former American Ambassador to Guatemala, John E. Peurifoy — reports which indicated that in all probability Guevara was an officer of the Soviet Secret Police.

"Even in the early stages of Castro's operations in Cuba, it was known to American intelligence agencies that the bulk of his money came from Russian and Chinese sources, and by the end of August, 1957, these agencies had reports from reliable sources that during that month at least two Russian submarines had surfaced off Cuba and landed supplies for Castro.

"During this period our State Department lied to the American people, and there can be no claim that it was ignorant or taken by surprise. It was not until the first of January, 1959 — SIXTEEN MONTHS after it was known that Castro was being supplied by Russian submarines — that the legitimate government of Cuba was finally overthrown, and Castro and his vermin took over. And even after that

time, in spite of open theft and mass murder, in spite of the open activity of Russian and Chinese Communists in Cuba, in spite of the construction of bases for attack on the United States, the State Department, supported by a Communist-infiltrated press and radio, kept up to the last possible moment the pretense that Castro, Guevara, and the rest were 'democratic and therefore anti-Communist.'

"That such lies are no longer officially uttered is not an indication that the basic policy has been changed. At the time that President Eisenhower finally said that the United States would act, IF the Soviet should try to establish a base in Cuba, an American intelligence agency had had in its possession for at least several weeks aerial photographs showing at least one Russian submarine base under construction — the one that is being built on Cay Largo, an island of the Jardines Bank and sixty-two miles due east from East Point on the Isle of Pines. Other bases also are known to be under construction. We are not prepared to estimate how long after the completion of these bases their existence will be 'discovered' by Washington.

"As a result of the recent publicity, however, AMERICAN FOREIGN AID TO CUBA IS NOW ROUTED VIA ANOTHER SOVIET STATE, POLAND."

This is not an isolated instance; it is an example of a pattern that is repeated over and over with but slight variations. What happened in Cuba, for example, is paralleled by what is now happening in the Dominican Republic, where our State Department is now acting openly to create another Communist base that will be another Cuba and complete the encirclement of the United States in the Caribbean.

From such data, gentlemen, you can draw your conclusions. If you can't, God help you!

After Fifty Years

Advance offprint of an article by

REVILO P. OLIVER



Dr. Revilo Pendleton Oliver, Professor of the Classics at the University of Illinois, is a scholar of international distinction who has written in four languages scholarly articles published in twelve learned periodicals of the United States and Europe. His first book, a critical and copiously annotated translation from the Sanskrit, was published in 1938.

During World War II, Dr. Oliver was Director of Research in a highly secret agency of the War Department, and was cited for outstanding service to his country.

As early as 1934, in articles in *Nation's Business*, he accurately forecast that economic servitude that was gradually imposed on the American people during the next decade by the masters of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is one of the very few college professors who have dared consistently and vigorously to oppose and denounce the pro-

gressive subversion of American institutions and defacement of Western civilization.

Since 1954, he unceasingly sought to promote and obtain an effective cooperation between all genuinely American patriotic groups, urging that doctrinaire differences be subordinated to *essential* purposes. His article, "Conservatism and Reality," in *Modern Age* (Fall, 1961) represents the counsel that he consistently gave until he recognized in 1964 that irreversible events had made the proposed tactic obsolete and had finally made many of the hopes of "conservatives" unattainable.

He participated in the founding of the John Birch Society and was a member of its National Council until July, 1966, when he resigned. He had contributed two short books, numerous articles, and many searching book reviews to the Society's monthly magazine.

His booklet, *Conspiracy or Degeneracy*, containing the text of a famous speech given in Boston on 2 July, 1966, and copious documentary and elucidatory notes, was published by Power Products, Nedrow, New York, in 1967, and received the Award of Merit of the American Academy of Public Affairs.

After publicly severing his connections with the John Birch Society, Dr. Oliver remained a member (the only civilian) of the Board of Americans for National Security, and a director of the venerable Congress of Freedom, but was unwilling to lend his name to any other organization. He also refused to contribute to "conservative" periodicals published in the United States, believing that the public was not yet ready to face unpleasant realities or to surrender hopes and dreams that had become unattainable within the predictable future.

We believe that the present article, in which he estimates the potentiality of the newly formed National Youth Alliance in the context of present realities, is, therefore, of exceptional interest. That is why we are offering this offprint of the article in advance of its periodical publication.

FOR HALF A CENTURY, generation after generation, large numbers of Americans have worked hard and sometimes desperately to avert the subversion and capture of their nation. And they have failed — utterly.

Since 1920, they have formed at least ten thousand "Conservative" and "Anti-Communist" organizations, large and small, that, like the flowers of spring, have bloomed for a season, faded away, and been forgotten. Even well-informed Americans today might find it difficult to identify precisely even the greatest of these: the once large and imposing American Defense Society, the International Legion Against Communism, which once had branches in London and Paris, or Colonel Hadley's Paul Revere, which once had many chapters in every state from Maine to California.

Each organization had its idiosyncrasies, and many spent much of their effort in squabbling with one another, but all of them, large and small, genuine and fraudulent, have used the same basic formula. Read R. M. Whitney's *Reds in America*, published in 1924, and you will find it all there, from "atheistic Communism" to Bolshevik butcheries; from subversion in public schools and churches to treason in the armed forces

and government; from the names and crimes of Communist agents to hints about the mysterious power of the International Conspiracy. And the solution? Awaken the American people; show them their danger! Defend Christianity! Defend the Constitution!

That was the appeal in 1920 (when the Lusk Committee released its famous hearings) and that is the appeal today. Of course, atrocities and treason have multiplied enormously during the past fifty years, but all that we now have is a vastly greater quantity of the *kind* of information that was available and should have been conclusive in 1920. The tactics that failed then and failed every year since then are the tactics that are being used today. The most desperate exertions of devoted men and women (some of whom like the eloquent leader of the 1930's, Major Pease, and his wife, spent their whole fortunes in the effort and died in poverty) never succeeded in *halting* even for a moment the enemy's relentless advance. They did *retard* that advance, so that now in 1969 we are at the point at which we would otherwise have been in 1945 or 1950. But that point is the end of the road. The net result is total failure.

It would take several volumes to analyze that failure. It will suffice to note that, first, in war and in politics defensive tactics *always* fail against a determined and persistent enemy. (If you think there are exceptions, think them over.) Second, even honest and intelligent anti-Communist leaders rightly or wrongly thought it necessary to indulge their followers in the illusions of Nineteenth-Century sentimentality, and to affirm a belief in the very fictions by which the enemy deluded the ignorant and gullible.

The World Has Changed — And So Have We

The tactics of 1920 are now an anachronistic absurdity.

In 1920, the majority of adult Americans believed in Christianity, and so did almost all of the priests and ministers. Today, all but comparatively few "traditionalist" Catholic and "fundamentalist" Protestant churches are occupied by pulp-pinks and pulpit-punks who deny the divinity of Christ, spout poisonous rant about "social justice," and with increasing frequency have hysterical fits in which they rush out into the streets to incite rape and murder. And so few Christians remain in the Sunday-morning clubs that the little shysters almost never receive an effective rebuke. Today, Christianity has become the faith of a small minority, and it is simply dishonest to pretend otherwise.

In 1920, the American Constitution had already been undermined by the aliens who wheedled gullible Americans into such booby-traps as the White Slave Act (originally called "Income Tax") and the "Federal Reserve" swindle, and it had been even more seriously impaired by the hypocritical pretense that it was somehow compatible with "democracy" and with tyranny exercised by do-gooders. But it still retained considerable prestige, and, what was more important, the political system was still one under which the harm that had been done could *possibly* be undone and repaired. Today, although the word "Constitution" is regularly uttered with a sneer by the Warren Gang whenever it publishes an edict from our international masters, the American Constitution was effectively abolished years ago. Today, it is dead and gone, and no amount of wailing and gnashing of teeth will alter that fact. The proof of its death is that it is *no longer possible to restore the Constitution by Constitutional means*.

Most important of all, in 1920, Americans, although they had been seduced into drunken follies by fat-headed do-gooders and hired traitors, still had manhood and self-respect, and they had clearly before them the great monuments of our uniquely noble and uniquely powerful civilization, which had been created, and could be preserved, *only* by the race, called Indo-European or Aryan, that has always been numerically a tiny minority among the world's teeming populations. Today, our culture has been so covered with alien slime that crude daubs, scarcely worthy of a schizophrenic child, pass for art; the raucous noises of savages pass for music; the filthy maunderings of an Oriental degenerate pass for "mental health"; and grown men and women, who presumably no longer believe in Santa Claus and Cinderella, listen seriously to fairy tales about "World Peace" and "United Nations." And our manhood and self-respect have been so completely leached away that, to name but one instance, the American people, like a herd of mindless sheep, watched stolidly while their enemies in Washington set up the *Pueblo* for capture; while a naval vessel flying the American flag was captured by a little band of mangy Oriental pirates; while American sailors and officers, who had been tricked into enlistment by the pretense that they were to fight for the United States, were kicked, starved, and tortured month after month for almost a year; while scabrous aliens and traitors representing the American people groveled before

the pirates and begged them to deign to accept a cash reward and a lying confession of *American* guilt.

A people that can do that is not a nation of men. It is a herd that has lost even the instinct of self-preservation.

What is left? Only the biological fact of race, the yet discernible vestiges of our culture, and the yet fresh memories of what we were not long ago. Those are all that we have left from which to create, if we can, a new nation to replace what we lost.

It is, I know, sad and painful that we have lost so much that we cherished and loved. But we cannot undo the past by wishing or pretending. I loved my father, but I cannot call him back to life, and if I were to pretend that he is not dead, I should merely prove myself a coward and a fool, unworthy of his memory and his name.

What is left to us here under the vast and lonely skies of a continent that our forefathers wrested from the aborigines and, with blood and sweat, made into a mighty nation? We are not yet extinct. We can still reasonably hope that we will leave descendants worthy of our ancestors.

We hear much these days about "unrest on the campus" and "the revolt of youth." Let us be sure that we understand what is happening.

One can scarcely visit the campus of a college or high school these days without seeing and smelling the bands of unkempt young derelicts that slouch about in the academic slums until they are graduated to the "hippie" colonies in San Francisco and other cities. They should excite no astonishment. They are precisely what our schools have been working to produce ever since John Dewey and his gang perfected their method of milking the taxpayers while sabotaging the minds and the moral instincts of children. What is remarkable is that there are still so many members of that generation who have *not* lost their self-respect.

Many of the "hippies," of course, are merely degenerates or weaklings, part of the refuse that organized societies invariably produce and must sweep from their streets, if life is to go on. But, as our better journalists have reported, there are some who have, not without reason, despairingly rejected the society that has been produced by the rape of our culture and the imposition of an alien morality — a bustling society of hollow men, with only emptiness where their souls should be.

Consider, for example, the young derelict who says that he reached the breaking point when he took a good look at his father, a \$50,000-a-year "executive," who spent his days gulping tranquilizers and Martinis in his office, and his weekends in wife-swapping orgies with his fellow "executives," trying desperately to convince himself that he was really alive. In another youngster, something snapped when he saw his apparently wealthy father, who postured as the "big man" of the town, cringing before local aliens. Consider the others who, after different experiences, rejected a society that offered them no faith, no dignity, no hope. There must have been an innate decency in those young men that made them say, "To Hell with it," and, with a romantic gesture of self-destruction, head for the "hippie" colonies and the oblivion of consummated degradation. It is a pity that such young men were lost to themselves — and to us.

Where Brainwashing Failed

What we have left in our schools is a large number of innately decent and intelligent young Americans who could become the elite of a future that is yet possible. They make no melodramatic gestures; they have thus far watched in silence and uncertainty. But they are inwardly the most discontented of all.

They watch in scorn when bands of young rabble, pepped up with marijuana and "Liberal" jargon, rush out to screech about the "war in Vietnam" and the awful possibility that some sweet little Asiatics may be hurt — with never a word, of course, about the American soldiers who die in that trap. Those "demonstrations" are too obviously staged to create the impression that the Communists are not delighted with their operation in Vietnam.

But make no mistake. The real resentment and anger is not in the little mob of gesticulating ranters; it is in the hearts of the sober students who walk away in silent scorn. They have seen their friends drafted, and know they will themselves soon be drafted and shipped to the other side of the globe, not to fight for their country, but to die in infested jungles merely to provide a gang of thieves and internationalists with a flimsy pretext that they are "fighting Communism" by making American taxpayers finance and equip the hordes that are killing their sons. That is an obscene spectacle that no clear-sighted young man can behold without bitterness in his soul.

That is one — but only one — of the causes of the deep resentment that lies almost unnoticed beneath the froth of what the press-likes to call "ferment." — Among the herds that roam over every campus you will still find a fairly large number of students, intelligent young men and women, who, odd as it is coming to seem, came to college to learn, not to demonstrate and copulate. Many of them are puzzled, and some are bewildered; they are sure of only one thing; they are sick of the whole mess.

They, for example, find themselves trying to learn in college what any intelligent child can learn in the sixth grade, but which American children are prevented from learning by glib "educators" who are trying to create "equality." In their home towns they have seen at work the do-gooders who snivel about the "underprivileged" and then gleefully grab young children by the nape of the neck and rub their faces in filth — to create "equality." And here in college, in many a required course, they must hear and recite once more, as they have had to do every year since kindergarten, the dreary drivel about "democracy," "social good," "underdeveloped nations," "one world," and all the other myths of "Liberal" Make Believe, and they see that the purpose is to excite in them a feeling of guilt because they belong to the only race that could attain power over the forces of nature — guilt because their ancestors' intelligence and courage raised them above the squalor of universal "equality." They parrot, as they must, the professor's gabble, but what they feel is not guilt, but anger. And they are sick of "equality."

To enumerate all the causes that, in varying degrees for each individual, excite their disgust and resentment would be to compile an inventory of all the shibboleths and hypocrisies of contemporary society. Their resentment has been accumulating for a long time, but they repressed it until the "educators" exposed themselves by inciting riots and crime on the campus.

Not long ago, university presidents were still rather imposing figures as they recited with rotund unction the phrases about "challenging opportunity to serve mankind" and "meeting the needs of a changing world" that had been strung together by their speech-writers. But the spectacle of a little twerp cowering before a motley gang of punks or savages that he himself brought to the campus and subsidized with other people's money, is one that cannot be forgotten.

Supposedly, of course, most of the "educators" were taken by surprise.

To be sure, the President of Brandeis University, Dr. Morris

B. Abram, proudly assured the "Academy of Religion and Mental Health" that the rioters, presumably including the vermin that occupied his own building for ten days, are engaged in "a genuine revolution" to become "true citizens of the world without boundaries" because "*they have absorbed well the ideals WE taught them.*" But, so far as the press has reported, Dr. Abram is the only "educator" to brag that he and his kind contrived the epidemic by subtly and skillfully injecting the "ideal" germs of anarchy and destruction.

The Twilight of the Wizards

The wizards that preside over other institutions recently disrupted by outbreaks of world citizenship and equality have thus far emitted only squeaks that seem to mean that they were surprised by the riots — that they had not planned it that way — that they never suspected that savages aren't gentlemen — that they had not known what they were doing when they imported them. It is only courtesy to believe those excuses. But it follows, of course, that the pompous mannikins are too ignorant and stupid to be entrusted with an academic responsibility greater than that of mopping the floors. Indeed, since in most institutions the janitors would never have done anything so silly, and in some the janitors even protested the big brain's imposition of "brotherhood," one wonders, on second thoughts, whether Prexy, Ph.D., LL.D., etc., could safely be entrusted with a broom.

What is significant is what was done in a few institutions by young Americans — and when I use that word, I mean young *Americans*, descendants and heirs of the creators of the Western world; I do not mean all featherless bipeds that, "regardless of race, color, or creed," happen to be on our soil at the present time. In some universities, after Prexy, Ph.D., LL.D., etc., excluded from his own building by creatures he had hired to come to the university as "students," had groveled and "negotiated" for days, young Americans, losing patience with the deflated old wind-bag, simply went into the building and hauled out the animated garbage.

Those young Americans are our last hope of survival; They deserve what support we can give them. With luck and foresight, they may recover the country we lost.

We are told that "youth" is idealistic. That is true, if the statement means that our young men and women have inherited the quality, peculiar to our race, that finds expression in our great sagas of Beowulf, King Arthur, Roland, Parsifal, and Siegfried. It is false, if by "ideals" you mean the White Queen's cultivated ability to believe at least six impossible things before breakfast, and the "Liberal" notion that you can make big magic by chanting lies about the real world.

Young Americans have the courage and the will to fight and, if need be, to sacrifice themselves for what they instinctively feel is great and noble. They are the last force to which we can appeal.

We cannot inspire them by rehashing for the ten-thousandth time Whitney's *Reds in America*. They know, as our aging "anti-Communists" seem not to know, that the world of 1924 is gone with the wind — and, whether you like it or not, they feel no nostalgia for it. We cannot attract them with sermons about the beauties of a Constitution which, after all, was inadequate to prevent the present. They know that no document can make a nation out of a herd of equals; they sense that nations can exist only by the cohesion of a common will manifested in authority and discipline. We cannot charm them with platitudes about "mankind's upward reach for a better world." They know that "mankind" is an assortment of disparate peoples who must compete for space on an overcrowded planet; they sense that the world of nations today

is what it always has been and always will be: the real world in which the weak go under and the strong survive.

That is why there was for so long no effort to foster an American youth movement. It was not what was wanted by the good-hearted and white-haired patriots who, in their ever-diminishing conclaves, orated to one another in the hope that some miracle might yet waft them back to 1924 or, better yet, the spring of 1914. It was dreaded by the master salesmen in the "anti-Communist" business, who know what nice mixture of fact and shibboleth opens pocketbooks, and who naturally mean good business every step of the way — to the end.

At Last the Bugle Sounds

The first real effort, so far as I know, to bring together the scattered and silent elite of American youth is now being made by the National Youth Alliance, under the leadership of Mr. Louis T. Byers, a young man of undoubted integrity and true devotion, matured by extensive experience in "conservative" and "anti-Communist" circles. This could be the turning point for which we have so long hoped.

The principle of union and the textbook of the new organization is Francis Parker Yockey's brilliant and long-suppressed book, *Imperium*, a philosophy of history that was virtually unknown until it was republished a few years ago. It has now been reprinted in a popular edition that sells for \$2.50 (two copies for \$4.00) — primarily for the instruction and use of members of the new Alliance.

I have twice before criticized *Imperium* as a philosophic synthesis of the lessons of history, pointing out, *inter alia*, that its major thesis was confirmed and corroborated by the entirely independent work of Lawrence R. Brown, *The Might of the West*, and by the antecedent work of the great Oswald Spengler, *The Hour of Decision*. I need here only recommend careful study of Willis A. Carto's discerning and very important introduction to the volume.

The essential point here is that *Imperium*, and through it the National Youth Alliance, for the first time tells the elite of young Americans what they have so long and doubtfully waited to hear. It does not tell them about the economic advantages of "free enterprise," to be reaped by helping some corporation sell more Coca-Cola or hair oil or paint-remover, and it does not dilate on the blessings of freedom to buy a mortgage in the suburbs, run faster in the rat-race, and raise children to be taught that Paradise is a place where hominoids with full bellies live in perpetual rut. It speaks to them of honor, loyalty, race, and Western man's will to conquer or die. It summons them, not to meetings of a Ladies' Missionary Society, but to a struggle against great odds. It warns them, not that lady-like conservatives must be careful to Love Everybody, but that the treason of the slimy Ganelon can be defeated only if the Men of the West are still willing to die in the pass at Roncesvalles.

This is a bugle call that cannot fail to rouse what Jung calls our "racial psyche," and it would be sheer impertinence for you or me to try to add footnotes. But, in sober fact, this last effort of the West faces fearful odds.

Young America

The young, it is true, have a freedom of action that is denied to their parents, who, after all, must live to make the

next payment on the mortgage and on the "income tax," but the young in the schools will nevertheless face the subtle and devious hostility of the whole Establishment. The "educators" will try to trap them in an endless net of ambiguous rules and pettifogging regulations. Great idealists, who beam benignly when young Americans are beaten or knifed on the campus, will turn purple with rage at the slightest slight to the fauna of their academic jungles. And, of course, the pet curs of the press will bark "Fasheest," "Natsee," and "Aunteye-Seemee-tic," the three sounds that should infallibly make well-conditioned Americans dive under the bed faster than frightened cats. And, equally of course, members of the National Youth Alliance will suddenly be surrounded by "responsible conservatives," recently retired from the C.I.A. or A.D.L., eager to point out the virtues and profit of "moderation" and "democratic procedures," with a bonus of whatever sexual bait seems most likely to hook the fish. Lastly, young Americans are uncertain what they should do to attain what they instinctively want; they are made hesitant by their own deficiencies. They have been passed through our public brainwashing machine, and they know that they have received, not a liberal education, but an "education" by "Liberals." They have since the first grade been sloshed about in the standard detergent: one ounce of fact dissolved in a gallon of hogwash. They have so much to unlearn!

The Prospect

I do not venture to predict the future of the National Youth Alliance. It has great potentiality, but it will therefore be the target of open and stealthy assaults delivered with a fury and cunning surpassing all that we have seen thus far. And the time in which any action will still be possible is perilously short. I merely say that American youth is our last hope, and that at long last an effort is being made to rally it. The most that one can affirm is that the youth movement, with adequate support and guidance, has a *chance* of success.

If we choose to support it, let us not deceive ourselves. If this movement is not somehow frustrated at its very inception, if it ever gets under way, it will move forward with the gathering momentum of an avalanche. All that we can now foresee is the general direction in which the avalanche will move; that can be inferred from the pages of *Imperium*. That, as I pointed out years ago, may startle or even dismay conservatives of the older generations.

I wonder, however, whether the older generation has a right to tell young Americans how far they should go. The fight will be theirs. We may help them with our money and advise them; we may try to give them the advantage of what knowledge we have gleaned from history and our own experience. But let us remember that although you and I may personally have done all that we could — I hope we did — we nevertheless belong to a generation that was too inept and too fatuous to keep what it had. Let us not try to impose the sentimentality and squeamishness that was fatal to us on our successors. The future, if there is one, is theirs.

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is what it always has been and always will be: the real world in which the weak go under and the strong survive.

That is why there was for so long no effort to foster an American youth movement. It was not what was wanted by the good-hearted and the patriotic patriots who, in their ever-diminishing conclusion, saw some miracle might be the spring of 1914 the "anti-Communist" of fact and shibboleth mean good business.

The first reaction the scattered and made by the National Mr. Louis T. B. true devotion, tive" and "anti-point for which

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next payment on the mortgage and on the "income tax," but the young in the schools will nevertheless face the subtle and devious hostility of the whole Establishment. The "educators" will try to trap them in an endless net of ambiguous rules and pettifogging regulations. Great idealists, who beam benignly upon young Americans are beaten or knifed on the campus, the slightest slight to the fauna of the curse of the nteye-Seemee-like well-conditioned frightened National Youth responsible conductor A.D.L., eager tion" and "demer sexual bait young Americans in what they in their own deour public brainhave received, not "Liberals." They out in the standard gallon of hogwash.

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PROF. R. P. OLIVER
701 West Ohio St.
Urbana, Illinois
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Dr. Revilo Pendleton Oliver is Professor of the Classics in the University of Illinois. He was born in Texas, went to high school in Illinois and California, was an undergraduate in Pomona College (Claremont, California), and obtained the degree of Ph.D. at Illinois under the late great Professor William Abbott Oldfather. For many years he has taught, almost entirely, graduate students in Classical Philology, and for a number of years he also gave graduate courses in Spanish and Italian.

He has traveled widely. After World War II he was awarded a Guggenheim Post-Service Fellowship. In 1953-54 he spent a year in Italy on a Fulbright Research Fellowship exploring Renaissance manuscripts in the famous Italian libraries.

He is a scholar of international reputation. He has published scholarly articles in four languages in twelve learned periodicals of the United States and Europe. His first book was an annotated translation from the Sanskrit, *Mucchakatika* ("The Little Clay Cart"), published in 1938. He is a member of fourteen learned societies in the United States and Europe, and has been an officer in several of these.

During World War II he was Director of Research in a secret agency of the War Department, and was cited for outstanding service to his country. In this position his attention was first called to the magnitude of Communist penetration in this country, and the information which he then acquired has enabled him to follow the progress of the Communist conquest of the world abroad and of the Communist conspiracy at home. To expose this conspiracy he has written many book reviews and articles in periodicals such as *National Review* (of which he is a contributing editor), *American Progress*, *Free Enterprise*, *Christian Economics*, and even *Nation's Business*, where, as long ago as 1934, he pointed out, in two articles, the dangers and folly of the socialistic agencies of the New Deal.

Professor Oliver is one of the very few college professors who are speaking publicly against Communism. He has made numerous appearances before patriotic groups, service clubs, forums, and on radio and television.

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THE SECRET
of
COMMUNISM'S
HIDEOUS
STRENGTH

In an address to the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, Professor of the Classics, University of Illinois, U.S.A., provides a most penetrating observation of a basic aspect of the International Communist conspiracy which is generally overlooked. This brochure contains a portion of Dr. Oliver's address.

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23. Ernst Howald: Das Wesen der lateinischen Dichtung. Classical Weekly, LXIV (1951), 221-222.

THE SECRET OF COMMUNISM'S STRENGTH

I have spoken on other occasions about the Communists and their methods, and of their appalling success throughout the world and especially in the United States, where they are now actively preparing to take over the entire nation and are, on the most optimistic estimate, more than half of the way to that goal. Let me today try to describe the bacillus and to account, so far as possible, for its virulence. I draw on many sources of information, of course, but I must particularly mention the recent book by Frank Meyer, "The Moulding of Communists."

I suspect that first-rate Communists, like first-rate criminals of other kinds, are born, for the science of genetics gives us no reason to suppose that vicious instincts are not transmitted in the same way as the shape of the lobe of an ear or susceptibility to a disease. But I shall not argue with those who claim that Communists are primarily produced by training, for it is a sad truth that with human character as with life itself, it is easy for man's ingenuity to destroy what he cannot create.

The simplest and most fundamental fact about the International Communist Conspiracy is one of the hardest to grasp. Communists are not human, in the selective and optimistic sense in which we habitually use that word. They neither think nor feel as we do. They do not see the world that we see. To be sure, they dress as we do; they may simulate urbanity and wit; they can misuse our language so adroitly that they seem to mean what they say; but inwardly they are as alien from us as the ghouls of Arabian legend or the Martian monsters imagined by our most extravagant writers of "science fiction."

Communists are not human because they have been subjected to a prolonged and intensive discipline devised to purge them of all the instincts and capacities that we like to regard as characteristic of man — self-respect, independent judgment, conscience, pity, and every form of decency and morality. And the discipline is above all designed to make certain that anyone in whom the human qualities are not totally extinct is eliminated from the Conspiracy.

RECRUITING AND EXPELLING

The Communist Party in the United States — which, as you know, is merely the visible and least dangerous part of the iceberg — is merely a recruiting agency. It recruits members, yes, but it works much harder to get rid of them. We sometimes permit ourselves to feel encouraged when we hear of a defector from the Party, and we do not realize that one function

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of the Party is to produce defectors — that is to say, to eliminate from the Party as rapidly as possible unreliable material. The Party regards it as unfortunate, of course, that sometimes this cannot be done before the person has reached a position of importance in the organization, but it is realistic and it knows that the only way you can test materials is by subjecting them to ever-increasing strains.

Take a specific example, a man whom I know and regard with high respect. Readers of Kenneth Goff's "Communism in America" will recall that, next to his wife's conversion to Christianity, he lists, as an immediate cause of his break with the Party, the effect produced on him in 1939 when he was interrupted in the midst of a public tirade against Hitler by a party functionary who brought news of the pact between Hitler and Stalin. Thus the Party not only lost a very efficient and valuable agent but also sustained very considerable damage through the revelations which he subsequently made before the Dies Committee, and today it is still suffering some damage almost daily, because Mr. Goff is now a very effective speaker against it.

This was a loss, yes, but we must realize that from the standpoint of the Conspiracy it was a loss strictly comparable to the kind of losses that almost every business has to sustain as an inevitable part of the process of making a profit. Here was a man who felt that, on major issues, at least, the truth or falsity of what he was saying in public somehow mattered—a man in whom there remained the human impulse to distinguish between truth and falsity, and who therefore did not really accept the basic Communist premise, which a promising member should grasp without having to be told, that truth is, at any given moment, the boob-bait that the Conspiracy finds it expedient to put before the suckers at that moment. It is whatever will advance the purposes of the Conspiracy, and of that only the remote, unseen headquarters from which orders come can be the judge. A good Communist must be a perfect tool, a thoroughly reliable weapon, which will shoot at any mark at which it is aimed. A man who retains any vestige of humanity is like a rifle with a flawed barrel—not merely useless, but dangerous—and therefore his elimination from the Conspiracy, at whatever momentary cost, really strengthens the Conspiracy and is therefore a net gain.

If you will review the careers of the very few men and women who have ever defected from the Communist Party after attaining

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positions of any responsibility in it, you will see that all of them simply flunked their examinations at some critical point. Understand that I mean no disrespect to them personally when I say this, for I know some of them well, consider them friends, and respect them highly. But to state the brutal truth, the Conspiracy was glad to be rid of them before it placed any greater reliance on them, for, as Mr. Meyer puts it, in some corner of their being something human had survived the rigorous training they had undergone—a fatal flaw in the weapon. The damage resulting from the defection was trivial compared to the overall gain—the defection was a business loss incidental to the process of forging absolutely reliable weapons.

Whittaker Chambers came to a breaking point and confessed. But from the standpoint of the Conspiracy that loss was a mere trifle in comparison with the fact that Alger Hiss did not confess—Hiss who had been President of the Carnegie Endowment, one of the founders of the World Health Organization, and had held other high positions in the interlocking directorates of Communist control over this nation; who had been the Eminence Rouge of our State Department, and who had supervised, among other things, the great betrayal at Yalta. Had Hiss confessed, that would have been a real blow to the Conspiracy—one that might have set their schedule back by several years—but presumably he had long before passed all the examinations. It is to create such men that the Conspiracy works, and such men is all that it really wants.

COMMUNIST DISCIPLINE

Communist discipline is thorough—thorough in ways that seem to us incredible until we understand that its purpose is to extirpate all vestiges of humanity—every human sentiment from self-respect to pity, from intellectual integrity to friendship. As one item in this procedure, the Party deliberately scourges promising members with utterly unreasonable criticism. Let me cite one of the examples given by Mr. Meyer.

A young American woman, who was a university teacher and a practising psychologist, was a member of one of the local Communist cells, and had charge of keeping certain records. In this essentially clerical job she had no subordinate—no one to assist her or to whom she could delegate the work. Remember that point, for it is important.

The Party sent this young woman, who was of a good American family and presumably above suspicion, on a very difficult and hazardous mission to Spain, which she accomplished brilliantly and at the risk of her life. On her return, she undoubtedly expected some word of commendation, if not a full meed of praise, from her superiors in the Party. Instead, she was severely censured because the records in her office had not been kept up-to-date while she was in Spain! and she was forced to appear before a meeting of the cell and make an utterly absurd and irrational confession of error that she had been negligent in not being in two places at the same time. This was part of the training. Persons who cannot endure such outrageous treatment leave the Party. That is what the Party wants.

The operations on the mind, which Mr. Meyer describes in detail but which are too complex to be analyzed at this time, are even more drastic. One effect is to induce a kind of monomania in which the Communist sees every thing that he does, thinks, indeed, his every thought, in just one set of terms and uses only one criterion: what serves the Communist Conspiracy. To every question—and we mean literally every question—there is at any moment one correct answer. What is the speed of light? What is the area of North Carolina? Should you divorce your wife? Is "Hamlet" a great play? To every question, the correct answer is the one that will at the moment advance the Communist Conspiracy. If you even imagine that there can be any other answer, you are a flawed tool and must be discarded.

The Party deliberately encourages internal struggles between members and factions and, when these do not suffice, it contrives artificial crises over trivial or absurdly theoretical issues, which, however, seem terribly real to the emotionally involved participants. Sometimes it deliberately tries and expels a member on patently false charges—just to make sure that no one who remains in the Party is so weak as to hesitate to betray his friend or to become the instrument of the most flagrant injustice. That is part of the training.

The training works; it produces in the end absolute and utterly inhuman obedience to orders, whatever they are. And, incidentally, there are no outward indications of rank in the Conspiracy. That, for example, accounts for the fact that members of the Conspiracy who hold high positions in our government or society may be mere menials within the Conspiracy itself. As Mr. Meyer says, "A dramatic spy or policy-subverter in a high

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government post, a world renowned writer or speaker, or a Communist trade union leader with great public prestige and power, may be little more than an office boy to obscure and unknown men with no formal position in or out of the Communist Party." If it is any consolation to you, you may be sure that some of the most arrogant figures in our public life meekly submit in private to tongue-lashings from their Communist superior such as Uncle Tom would never willingly have endured—not even from his Ol' Massa.

NO DEFECTION FROM REAL CONSPIRACY

But the training works. There have been defections from fairly responsible positions in the Party, yes, but it should be noted that they have been defections from the official Communist Party, which, after all, is merely the training school. There has never been a defection of a Communist whom the Conspiracy placed in a really responsible position in American society: no editor of a newspaper, no member of Congress, no official of the State Department, no officer in the Defence Department, no judge of a court—and we know that the Conspiracy has placed its agents in these and similar positions—has ever confessed. Before the Conspiracy places men in such positions, it makes sure that they have passed all the examinations—that they are no longer human in any way.

And these are the real strength of the Conspiracy, which, as everyone knows, plans to take over the United States, not by war from without or violent revolution from within, but by simply taking over the government of the nation by formally legal means, that is to say, by covert manipulation of the masses. As Mr. Meyer says, "The total loyalty and dependability of the (Communist) cadre has made it possible to manoeuvre with consummate ease. Kaleidoscopic activities on a hundred fronts—many of them seemingly unrelated, some of them even in apparent opposition to one another—are utilised by a leadership conscious of its aims . . . to achieve strategical and tactical ends." That leadership in its remote and mysterious headquarters gives the orders and it alone may know the real significance of a given operation. The really trained Communists—those who hold high positions in our society—carry out those orders with implicit obedience and accuracy.

That is the secret of the Conspiracy's hideous strength and of the appalling success with which it has moved steadily forward

towards its goal, the destruction and annexation of the United States by internal subversion. And we shall never be able to combat it until we understand that we are literally dying of a disease caused by a specific germ or bacillus, the secret Communists that have found lodgement and multiply in all the veins and arteries of our national life. And, above all, we cannot afford to indulge in any squeamish sentimentality about the poor little germs: they are not, in any significant sense of the word, human.

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A Birch Society Founder Quits; Pressure By Welch Is Reported

Prof. Oliver's Views Believed Too Extremely Rightist to Suit Society's Leader

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

One founder of the John Birch Society announced his resignation yesterday in a dispute that is understood to involve both his asserted anti-Semitism and growing efforts to reduce the authority of Robert H. W. Welch Jr., the society's president.

The founder who resigned is Prof. Revilo P. Oliver of the University of Illinois. He was one of the 11 men summoned by Mr. Welch to the society's organizational meeting in an Indianapolis motel in 1958. He was also a member of the society's 25-member council and an associate editor and frequent contributor to its monthly magazine, American Opinion.

"The Mr. Welch who founded the society was a man in whom I had great confidence," Professor Oliver said in a statement. "Since then, however, changes which have taken place internally, in the organization and in its policies leave me no alternative but to dissociate myself from it."

Professor Oliver declined to discuss his differences with the society and denied that anti-Semitism had been an issue in his resignation. Mr. Welch had no comment at his headquarters in Belmont, Mass.

Welch Called Liberator

However, it was learned on excellent authority that a speech delivered by Professor Oliver at the New England Rally for God, Family and Country in Boston on July 2 precipitated the break and that the impetus had come from Mr. Welch.

In his address, Professor Oliver, a teacher of Greek and Latin, raised the specter of a Jewish conspiracy as being responsible for the moral decay of western man, whom he regards as the flower of civilization.

However, he said that conspiracies, either of Jews, Bolsheviks or the Illuminati (an anticlerical sect founded in 1776), did not provide the whole answer.

Doubts Nazis' Guilt

"If only by some miracle all the Bolsheviks, or all the Illuminati, or all Jews were vaporized at dawn tomorrow, we should have nothing more to worry about," he said, hypothetically. "The trouble with that beatific vision, of course, is that every educated man knows it just can't be so."



Prof. Revilo P. Oliver

Professor Oliver, whose views are regarded as extreme even among the ultra-conservative members of the Birch Society, has on other occasions questioned the authenticity of reports that large numbers of Jews had perished in Nazi concentration camps.

In testifying at length before the Warren Commission investigating the assassination of President Kennedy, he suggested that the President had been slain on orders from Moscow because he had been planning "to turn American."

In a similar vein, Professor Oliver, who is 55 years old, wrote in American Opinion that President Kennedy had "collaborated" with Premier Khrushchev in a sham embargo of Cuba and that the President's memory "will be cherished with distaste."

The article, titled "Marxman-ship in Dallas," was described by Mr. Welch as "superb commentary." It led, however, to demands for Professor Oliver's ouster from the university, but his right to be "offensive" was upheld both by a faculty committee and the trustees.

It was also learned that in a final conference last Thursday that preceded the break, Mr. Welch rejected Professor Oliver's proposal that he broaden the society's executive echelon.

This idea is known to be shared by other members of the council, who feel that the society's program is out of touch with reality. The Birch Society is ruled without appeal by Mr. Welch and no machinery exists for his replacement without his consent.

Suburb Group Claims 'Birch' Material Used

Staff Special to The News

GRAND PRAIRIE — A Grand Prairie attorney who is leading a citizens protest against alleged John Birch-type materials recently used in some classrooms Wednesday labeled the booklets a "scare" aimed at school mental health and counseling programs.

The booklets "All America Must Know the Terror That's Upon Us" charges that mental health and counseling programs are "Communist plots," James S. Vecchio, president of the newly formed Views of Interested Citizens for Education (VOICE) complained.

Vecchio said many Grand Prairie parents have advocated stronger counseling programs, and that the school superintendent, Dr. H. H. Chambers, is fighting the movement.

"I think there is a definite correlation between ordering the books and the counseling programs," he said.

VOICE Tuesday night filed a complaint with school board members for allowing the materials to get into the hands of students.

Vecchio said the group became concerned about two or three weeks ago when 100 copies of the booklet were distributed to teachers with the note that Dr. Chambers was interested in the matter.

Later, he said, he learned that

the school board had authorized \$15 to pay for the shipment.

The attorney said that on at least two occasions excerpts from the booklet were read aloud in class.

Vecchio described some teachers as "upset" over the materials—"some thought it was the truth, others didn't."

In any case, he said he rejected the claim that the material was just for teachers' backgrounds because "there was no accompanying material giving the other viewpoint."

The booklet by Dr. Revilo P. Oliver attacks a number of government officials, including the late John F. Kennedy and Dwight D. Eisenhower, he said, and states that in 1959 "observers in Washington estimate that 75 to 80 per cent of responsible officers (of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) are conspirators."

The attorney said his group asked the school board who authorized the circulation of the material and requested that each board member read the booklet before the next meeting "so we can discuss this thing."

Board Chairman Vernon Jackson said board members are taking the matter under advisement. He said he didn't know what further action would be taken.

Dr. Chambers had no comment.

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Birchers Hint JFK Slain For Slowing Red Takeover

NEW YORK — An article in a John Birch Society publication Tuesday attacked the late President Kennedy and said he had been assassinated because he was falling behind the Communist timetable for the takeover of the United States.

The late President, according to the article in the current issue of the monthly publication American Opinion, did much for the Communist conspiracy but "was rapidly becoming a political liability."

The article said "some competent observer" had concluded that the Communists had set 1963 as the date for the "effective capture of the United States" and Kennedy had fallen behind.

About the Author

The article, written by Prof. Revilo P. Oliver, of the classics department at the University of Illinois, suggested that the assassination was arranged "by the Communist conspiracy" to prepare for "a domestic takeover" which was frustrated by the capture of Lee Harvey Oswald, the alleged assassin.

(In Champaign, Ill., a University of Illinois spokesman said school officials wanted to read the article before making any decisions about either the story or its author.)

Oliver also advanced two alternative "explanations" of the assassination: that Kennedy was executed by the Communists because he was planning to run America; and that the assassination was arranged by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro as the result of a rift within "the Communist conspiracy."

He also suggested that "the assassination of Kennedy may have been necessary as the only means of avoiding, or even long deferring, national scandals so flagrant as to shock the whole of our brainwashed and hypnotized populace back to sanity."

Scoffs at FBI View

Oliver said there was "not a single indication" that the assassination was not planned and carried out by "the Communist conspiracy." He ridiculed the view, held by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that Oswald was acting alone when he shot the President.

The Oliver article said Oswald was trained in "a school for international criminals" in Russia, was brought back to the

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